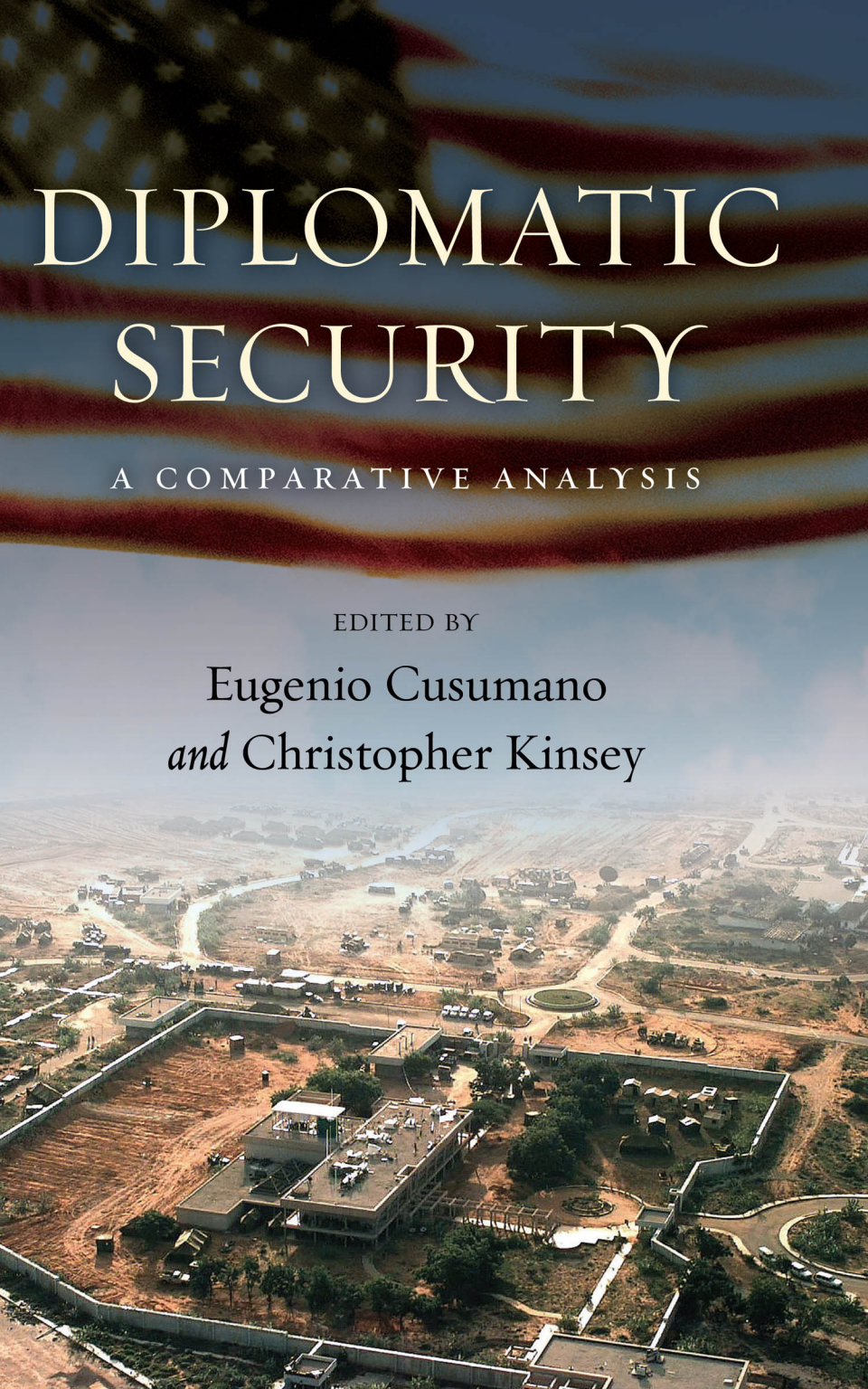
DIPLOMATIC SECURITY

A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

EDITED BY

Eugenio Cusumano
and Christopher Kinsey



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DIPLOMATIC SECURITY

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Introduction

What Is Diplomatic Security?

Eugenio Cusumano and Christopher Kinsey

In the wake of the murder of the US ambassador Christopher Stevens in Benghazi on September 11, 2012, diplomatic security has gained new relevance in public debate, achieving critical political salience in the 2012 and 2016 US presidential campaigns and spawning into popular culture through Hollywood blockbusters like *13 Hours* and *Argo*.

The problem of protecting state embassies, diplomats, and sensitive information abroad, however, is not entirely new. The establishment of diplomatic missions in another state has long entailed a framework of norms and guarantees to safeguard diplomats and their dependents abroad.[1] Such norms and guarantees—referred to as "diplomatic privileges and immunities"—are a product of customary practices formally codified in multilateral treaties such as the 1961 Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations and the 1969 UN Convention on Special Missions.[2] The admission of diplomatic agents to a foreign country is dependent upon the consent of the receiving state and subject to a special procedure that requires the formal accreditation of a foreign official by host state institutions. At that point, the diplomat is entitled to host state protection for the duration of her stay as a sending state representative.[3]

Still, host state protection is often no longer sufficient to ensure the safety of diplomats. From the 1960s onwards, the rise of terrorism has translated into an increasingly high death toll for foreign service personnel worldwide. The takeover of the US embassy in Tehran in 1979, followed in 1983 and 1984 by the bombing of the US embassy in Beirut, forcefully epitomizes

the vulnerability of foreign service personnel operating in countries that are incapable or unwilling to ensure the inviolability of diplomatic premises. The attacks suffered by the US missions in Kenya and Tanzania in 1998 and the deployment of diplomatic personnel in conflict zones such as Iraq and Afghanistan exacerbated these dilemmas, prompting heavily contested policies such as the retreat of US missions into fortress-like suburban premises and the large use of private security contractors.

Albeit increasingly frequent, attacks against diplomatic premises and personnel remain relatively rare compared to other instances of political violence. Why should such fairly sporadic episodes be of concern to students and practitioners of international politics? As argued by many scholars, diplomacy is a cornerstone of interstate relations and a key institution in the international system. Consequently, growing violations of diplomatic inviolability may have far-reaching consequences, ultimately hindering effective dialogue and cooperation across states. Security is a crucial enabler of diplomatic activities, giving substance to concepts like "expeditionary," "transformational," and "preventive" diplomacy.[4] State-building and conflict resolution therefore depend on the effective protection of the diplomatic personnel seconded to countries embroiled in conflict and social unrest. While taken in response to genuine security concerns, however, diplomatic security policies also affect the daily conduct of diplomatic activities. By increasing the separateness of foreign service personnel from local societies and informing locals' perceptions of the sending states, security policies do not simply enable diplomatic activities, but may also contribute to reshaping diplomacy both as a practice and as an institution.

In spite of its theoretical and policy relevance, diplomatic security has received very sporadic scholarly attention. By providing a comparative analysis of diplomatic protective policies worldwide, this book seeks to fill this gap. Specifically, our volume seeks to answer three sets of interrelated research questions. First, the volume investigates how states worldwide understand and enhance diplomatic security. To that end, we asked our contributors to investigate whether the countries examined in this book suffered attacks against their diplomatic personnel in the past, how likely they consider such threats today, and what policies they have envisaged in response. Most notably, our authors have systematically examined the decision-making processes underlying diplomatic security policies, the magnitude and costs of the protective

arrangements in place, and the type of security actors involved in the protection of diplomatic missions in sensitive locations.

Second, we have investigated the reasons underlying the evolution of diplomatic security policies over time and their variations across countries. Specifically, this collection sheds light on factors such as threat perception, emulation, and national diplomatic and security cultures in shaping countries' diplomatic protective arrangements and broader foreign policies.

Third, we have analyzed the extent to which such security arrangements are perceived to be effective, examining if the security policies in place have proven capable of deterring attacks and mitigating their toll, how they have been reformed in response to major incidents, and how quickly they can respond to changing threat scenarios. As the Conclusion to this volume makes clear, effectiveness does not depend solely on the ability of protective measures to deter and mitigate the toll of attacks. Diplomatic security policies should also be measured against their ability to secure diplomats without hindering their ability to interact with local society and tarnishing the image of the sending state.

Answering these questions provides a novel contribution to both diplomacy and security studies, offering relevant insights for scholars and practitioners alike.

The Reason for This Inquiry

Over the last decade, challenges to diplomatic security have proliferated. The role played by diplomatic personnel in the reconstruction of Iraq and Afghanistan has enormously increased the need to devise effective protective arrangements.[5] By 2010, US expeditionary diplomacy entailed the deployment of over 25 percent of State Department (DoS) personnel to the thirty highest-risk countries.[6] This shift inevitably translated into a proliferation of attacks against US diplomatic missions. Between 1998 and March 2013, the DoS Diplomatic Security Bureau (DS) reported 273 "significant" attacks, 46 of which resulted in casualties among bystanders, diplomatic security personnel, or US officials. The killing of US ambassador Stevens in Benghazi is only the latest casualty faced by US diplomatic personnel. Between 1977 and 2014, the United States lost more ambassadors than generals, and a total of sixty-six US State Department personnel have been killed by terrorist attacks.[7]

Diplomatic security, however, is not a solely American challenge. In 2003, the consulate general of the United Kingdom in Istanbul was destroyed in a bombing that killed fifty-seven people, including the British consul himself. In 2011 and 2013, the French embassies in Mauritania and Libya were also destroyed by car bombs, albeit with less deadly consequences. Both Germany and Italy conducted state-building activities in Iraq and Afghanistan, which exposed their diplomatic personnel to unprecedented levels of risk. Israeli diplomats saw their lives threatened by terrorist attacks in theaters as diverse as Egypt, Denmark, Thailand, and Argentina. Moscow's assertive foreign policy has exposed Russian embassies in Europe and the Middle East to terrorism and political hooliganism, as epitomized by the murder of the Russian ambassador to Turkey in December 2016. Rising powers like China and Turkey too have been confronted with the challenge of protecting their missions abroad, increasingly vulnerable due to their growing and at times controversial presence in sub-Saharan Africa and the broader Middle East.

In spite of its relevance and implications, diplomatic security has received sporadic attention from scholars of diplomacy and security studies alike. The editors of this book, for instance, examined US and UK diplomatic security policies in Iraq and Afghanistan. Our previous work, however, only concentrated on contentious policies such as the increasing resort to private security contractors.[8] Scholars of diplomacy have conducted a historical genealogy of the principle of inviolability, examined the past challenges faced by diplomatic missions located in conflict areas, and explored the implications of the expeditionary diplomacy concept embraced by the last US administrations,[9] but have not systematically looked at protective policies and their impact on the conduct of diplomatic activities. Diplomatic security practitioners have sometimes published memoirs and conducted a historical overview of diplomatic security.[10] Their work, however, is largely anecdotal and focused on the US case.[11] International law experts have examined in detail the principle of diplomatic immunity and the obligations imposed on receiving countries by the 1961 Vienna Convention, largely overlooking the political and security implications of certain host states' failure to abide by such duties.[12] The book is unique in that it offers the first systematic comparative analysis of the diplomatic security policies adopted by nine countries with a worldwide diplomatic presence.

Our study should be of interest to academics and policy-makers alike. Students of security will benefit from a novel contribution to the study of

terrorism, counterterrorism, intelligence, and state-building, and will be able to draw on the large body of empirical evidence deployed in this book as a source of insights into the study of foreign policy-making, national security cultures, threat perception, and securitization processes. Diplomatic protective policies worldwide display a wide panoply of security providers and institutional arrangements, ranging from the use of military special operation forces to the deployment of police units and the hiring of international and local private security companies. The multiplicity of actors involved in the provision of diplomatic security can provide important insights into the rationales underlying the choice of certain security policies and their variations worldwide.

Students of diplomacy will find in the book a comprehensive, comparative examination of different states' diplomatic security policies, the influence of states' diplomatic and national security cultures on the choosing of specific protective arrangements, and the impact of such security arrangements on the conduct of diplomatic activities. The need for tight security arrangements has increasingly affected the working routines, organizational cultures, and even architecture of diplomacy, forcing US diplomats to relocate into fortified suburban buildings. By secluding documents into compounds and reducing diplomats' ability to engage with local societies, enhanced security measures may have ultimately reduced the effectiveness of the diplomatic activities they enable. Hence, scholars of diplomacy can rely on this book as a starting point in the study of how security concerns have increasingly reshaped the way diplomacy is perceived and conducted.

As the safety of diplomatic envoys is widely regarded as a crucial precondition for the conduct of interstate relations, a reflection on diplomatic security should also be of interest to the broader community of international relations theorists, who will find in this book novel insights into the evolution of a key institution of the international system and the compliance pull of attached norms such as diplomatic inviolability. At the same time, this book should also appeal to diplomacy and security practitioners. A systematic, comparative overview of diplomatic security arrangements worldwide provides valuable insights into the effectiveness and implications of diplomatic security, and may therefore assist in the planning and daily conduct of interstate relations.

Research Design, Methodology, and Sources

The lack of previous systematic research on diplomatic security is partly explained by the challenges that such an endeavor entails. Due to their sensitive nature, measures to protect diplomatic personnel and premises are often shrouded in secrecy. Consequently, collecting information on diplomatic security arrangements is a dauntingly complex task. This is especially the case in countries like Russia, Turkey, or China, where scholars' attempts to conduct research on national security matters is often unwelcome and discouraged. As the release of certain types of information may inadvertently jeopardize the protection of diplomatic personnel and premises, ethical constraints also apply. Keeping these practical and deontological limitations in mind, the studies collected in this book systematize existing unclassified information to provide an empirically rich comparative analysis of the different protective arrangements enacted to protect diplomatic personnel and premises in the United States, China, the UK, France, Germany, Russia, Italy, Israel, and Turkey.

These cases have been selected for two main reasons. Firstly, all the countries examined have a worldwide diplomatic network, which has translated in the frequent deployment of foreign service personnel in areas fraught with political violence. Secondly, all these sending states have been increasingly confronted with the threat of terrorism, and have identified the protection of their diplomats abroad as an urgent issue. Hence, selecting these cases allows for a structured, focused comparison.[13] Our analysis is focused as it only concentrates on a specific aspect of the foreign and security policies of the countries examined—diplomatic security; it is structured as the authors of the case studies have been asked to answer the same set of specific questions, which have guided and standardized the collection of data in order to make a systematic comparison and cumulation of knowledge possible.

Due to the difficulty of accessing empirical information on the subject, the authors of this book—all with specific expertise in the countries and issues examined in their respective chapters—have been confronted with a complex task. Their choosing, however, not only reflects their ability to conduct research on a secretive and unexplored subject, but also our aim to have this volume serve as a bridge between theory and policy and a platform for interdisciplinary dialogue and epistemological pluralism. By involving practitioners with an academic background and decades of experience in Israeli and US diplomatic protection, our work offers insights into the inner functioning

of national security bureaucracies that academics often lack. At the same time, the inclusion of cases like China and Turkey broadens the analysis beyond Western diplomatic practices, which have monopolized most scholarship. Insights from critical theory also allow for a broader reflection on diplomacy as an institution that is often criticized as the reification of a Eurocentric world order and may therefore need to be forcibly imposed on host societies by means of increasingly tight protective arrangements.[14]

The analysis is primarily based on qualitative data. Due to the paucity of scholarship on diplomatic security, a wide range of primary sources has been used. Most notably, practitioners' personal experience, unclassified official documents in several different languages, and semi-structured interviews with diplomatic, military, law enforcement, and private security personnel have provided a large amount of otherwise unavailable empirical evidence.

Structure of the Book

In order to provide a systematic and theoretically grounded enquiry of diplomatic security, the book is divided as follows. As mentioned in the preceding section, the first chapters examine the diplomatic security policies of nine countries with a large and increasingly vulnerable diplomatic network, namely the United States, China, the United Kingdom, France, Germany, Russia, Italy, Israel, and Turkey. Here, the focus is on the different approaches states take to keeping a diplomatic presence in dangerous environments and on the different institutional actors and arrangements involved in the protection of their personnel worldwide.

Chapter One, by Patrick Cullen, is concerned with examining the evolution of the US diplomatic security apparatus from the creation of the State Department's first security office to the present day. His analysis begins by exploring the growing security needs created by the expansion of American diplomacy worldwide and the changing nature of the security threats it faces today. The array of institutional arrangements, policy instruments, and security forces deployed in order to guarantee the protection of US diplomatic personnel worldwide is then analyzed in detail.

Chapter Two, by Jingdong Yuan, broadens the scope of the analysis by looking at China's diplomatic security. As a rising power that has suffered relatively few attacks against its foreign missions, China lags behind in the elaboration of comprehensive diplomatic security policies. Lack of previous

experience, uncertainty regarding which agency should take over diplomatic security policies, and Beijing's approach to diplomacy—grounded on the principle of noninterference in host countries' domestic affairs—have hindered the development of fully fledged protective arrangements for Chinese posts abroad.

Chapter Three, by Christopher Kinsey, briefly puts UK diplomatic security in historical perspective before examining the institutional arrangements devised by the Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO) after the 2003 bombing of the UK consulate in Istanbul and the large-scale involvement of UK diplomats in the reconstruction of Iraq and Afghanistan. Chapter Four, by Jean Joana, focuses on French diplomatic security. His study unravels the uneasy relationship between growing security concerns, an organizational culture that sees protective arrangements as incompatible with the French approach to diplomacy, and the goal of streamlining and modernizing France's diplomatic presence abroad. Chapter Five, by Klaus Brummer and Ulrich Krotz, focuses on how German diplomatic security policies have developed after the end of the Cold War, examining the espionage and terrorist threats against Berlin's missions abroad. It then examines the arrangements in place to tackle them, emphasizing the key role played by the German Federal Police in protecting diplomatic posts and personnel.

In Chapter Six, Elena Kropatcheva examines how Russian national security culture has pervasively shaped Moscow's diplomatic security policies. Specifically, she notes that Russian diplomatic security is reactive in nature, shrouded in secrecy, and increasingly dominated by military institutions, thereby reflecting some of the overarching features of Russian foreign policy today. Chapter Seven, by Lorenzo Cladi, maps the current configuration of the Italian diplomatic network, which faces both increasing domestic pressure to reduce the costs and alleged privileges of the foreign service and a growing need for tighter diplomatic security arrangements, now consisting in the use of military police units, but also private security contractors.

Chapter Eight, by Barak Ben Zur, analyzes Israel's approach to diplomatic security. His study is backed by the insider information he acquired as the former director of the research division of the Israeli Security Agency (ISA), responsible for both conducting counterterrorism operations inside Israel and defending official sites, senior officials, and delegations abroad. The chapter follows the evolution of the Israeli approach to diplomatic security from the creation of the state of Israel to the present day. Chapter Nine, by Egemen

Bezci, focuses on Turkey, another country that has suffered from frequent terrorist attacks against its delegations abroad. According to Bezci, cronyism, organizational turf wars, and the heavy politicization of Turkish foreign policy bureaucracies have hindered the development of effective protective arrangements. Consequently, Ankara's growing foreign policy activism is likely to result in greater risks to its diplomatic missions.

The last two chapters and ensuing Conclusion provide an overarching, theoretically grounded examination of some key aspects of today's diplomatic security policies by examining the drivers and implications of the protective arrangements enacted by the countries examined previously. Chapter Ten, by Thomas Stocking, focuses on the notion of risk management as the cornerstone of US diplomatic security. Drawing on his decades-long policy experience in the US Diplomatic Security Bureau, Stocking examines how the meaning and practice of risk management has changed over the past forty years in response to major incidents like the 1983 and 1985 Beirut bombings, the 1998 East Africa bombings, the 2007 Nisour Square incident, and the 2012 attack in Benghazi. Chapter Eleven, by Clara Eroukhmanoff, takes a critical approach to diplomatic security, problematizing the peaceful and non-coercive nature of Western diplomatic activities in order to understand the symbolic significance of attacks against diplomatic personnel and warn against the securitization of diplomacy. By raising questions that are often ignored by mainstream diplomatic and security studies scholars, Eroukhmanoff's chapter both problematizes and complements the empirical, detailed, and policy-relevant insights offered by the rest of the volume, providing wider, thought-provoking insights into the institution of diplomacy. The Conclusion briefly outlines the findings of each chapter, examining how the book contributes to the study of diplomacy, security studies, and international relations at large, elaborating on the effectiveness and trade-offs of different diplomatic security arrangements, and suggesting avenues for future research.

Notes

1. Linda S. Frey and Marsha Frey, *The History of Diplomatic Immunity* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1999), and Grant V. McClanahan, *Diplomatic Immunity* (New York: St. Martin's Press 1989).

2. The Vienna Convention was signed on April 18, 1961, and entered into force on April 24, 1964. The UN Convention was adopted by the General Assembly on December 8, 1969, and has been in force since July 21, 1985, for only thirty-eight parties (1400 UNTS, 231).

3. Clive J. Barker, *The Protection of Diplomatic Personnel* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006); McClanahan, *Diplomatic Immunity.*

4. On expeditionary diplomacy, see State Department, *Leading Through Civilian Power: The First Quadrennial Diplomacy and Development Review*, 2010. See also Paul Sharp, "Obama, Clinton, and the Diplomacy of Change," in Paul Sharp and Geoffrey Wiseman, eds., *American Diplomacy* (Leiden: Brill, 2012). On transformational diplomacy, see Condoleeza Rice, "Transformational Diplomacy" (Georgetown University, January 18, 2006), https://2001-2009.state.gov/secretary/rm/2006/59306.htm. On preventive diplomacy, see United Nations, "Preventive Diplomacy: Delivering Results," *Report of the Secretary General* (August 11, 2011), http://www.un.org/undpa/sites/www.un.org.undpa/files/SG%20Report%20on%20Preventive%20Diplomacy.pdf.

5. Sharp, "Obama, Clinton, and the Diplomacy of Change"; State Department, *Leading Through Civilian Power.*

6. Alex Tiersky and Susan Epstein, *Securing US Diplomatic Facilities and Personnel Abroad: Background and Policy Issues*, Congressional Research Service, Report to Congress (Washington, DC: May 28, 2014).

7. US Department of State Bureau of Diplomatic Security, "Significant Attacks against US Diplomatic Facilities and Personnel" (Washington, DC: 2013).

8. Eugenio Cusumano, "Diplomatic Security for Hire: The Causes and Implications of Outsourcing Embassy Protection," *Hague Journal of Diplomacy* 12, no. 1 (2016): 1–29; Eugenio Cusumano and Christopher Kinsey, "Bureaucratic Interests and the Outsourcing of Security: The Privatization of Diplomatic Protection in the United States and the United Kingdom," *Armed Forces & Society* 41, no. 4 (2015): 591–615.

9. Frey and Frey, *The History of Diplomatic Immunity*; Geoffrey Berridge, *Embassies in Armed Conflict* (New York: Continuum, 2012); Sharp, "Obama, Clinton, and the Diplomacy of Change"; Nathan Hodge, *Armed Humanitarians: The Rise of the Nation Builders* (New York: Bloomsbury 2011).

10. Nick Mariano, *For God and Country: Memories of a Diplomatic Security Service Special Agent* (n.p.: CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform: 2nd ed., 2016); US State Department, *History of the Bureau of Diplomatic Security of the United States Department of State* (Washington, DC: Global Publishing Solutions, 2011).

11. Mariano, *For God and Country*; US State Department, *History of the Bureau of Diplomatic Security of the United States Department of State.*

12. Barker, *The Protection of Diplomatic Personnel.*

13. Alexander L. George and Andrew Bennett, *Case Studies and Theory Development in the Social Sciences* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2005); Alexander L. George, "Case Studies and Theory Development: The Method of Structured, Focused Comparison," in Paul Gordon Lauren, ed., *Diplomacy: New Approaches in History, Theory and Policy* (New York: Free Press 1979), 43–68

14. On diplomacy as a Eurocentric institution, see Iver B. Neumann, "Euro-Centric Diplomacy: Challenging But Manageable," *European Journal of International Relations* 18, no. 2 (2013): 299–321.

1 A Century of US Diplomatic Security

An Evolutionary Response to a Changing Threat Environment

Patrick Cullen

Introduction

According to the official history of the US State Department's Bureau of Diplomatic Security,

> diplomatic security is the set of measures enacted to ensure that the diplomatic representatives of a nation-state, kingdom, or other political entity are able to conduct that entity's foreign affairs in a confidential, safe manner. Security is a basic function of diplomacy, and specific components of diplomatic security include preserving the confidentiality of diplomatic documents and communications, protecting diplomatic personnel, ensuring the integrity of diplomatic personnel through background investigations, and safeguarding diplomatic posts overseas and diplomatic facilities at home.[1]

Although this definition reads like an attempt to discern a timeless or universal array of the characteristics of diplomatic security, in many ways it offers a uniquely American interpretation of its own historical experiences within this field. And it a very broad experience indeed. The modern history of securing American diplomacy spans nearly a century, from the creation of the State Department's first formal security office in 1917 staffed with only a handful of employees, to today's sprawling State Department Bureau of Diplomatic Security (DS) that measures its personnel by the tens of thousands. Set against this backdrop of a century of US diplomatic security, this chapter seeks to both empirically map and causally explain how and why US diplomatic security

has been transformed in the course of its history. The first section offers a brief discussion of the two key drivers shaping American diplomatic security over the years—the evolution of American diplomacy itself, and the changing nature of the security challenges it has faced. The second section adds a rich level of empirical detail by providing a broad historical overview of this process. The third and fourth sections shift our attention to the contemporary period by providing a detailed review of the DS as an organization as well as a discussion of the US military's role in protecting the US diplomatic mission.

The Size and Character of US Diplomacy

A primary driver of the shape and content of US diplomatic security is fluctuation within the size and character of its raison d'être—the American diplomatic mission itself. As the number and size of US diplomatic missions have grown over time, the security requirements necessary to support them have also expanded. Today, according to the State Department's Bureau of Overseas Building Operations, there are 1,600 overseas work facilities at 175 diplomatic posts worldwide that the DS must provide security for, in addition to 146 offices domestically.[2] Moreover, the personal protection requirements have also changed as the scope of actors and activities involved in US diplomacy has grown. American embassies are now logistical hubs of a coordinated multi-agency effort to further US foreign policy goals across a very wide spectrum of activities (e.g., economic, law enforcement, environmental, commercial, financial, agricultural, developmental, legal) that extends well beyond the traditional state-to-state diplomatic engagement conducted by the professional diplomatic corps of Foreign Service Officers (FSOs). The State Department has a degree of responsibility for all of these civilian US government employees engaged in this effort, and as a result the DS is now responsible for the security of over eighty thousand overseas US government employees from more than thirty agencies operating under the auspices of State Department chief of mission authority.[3]

The character of US diplomacy also matters. Political directives and new operational concepts of diplomatic practice that increase exposure of FSOs to high- or extreme-risk overseas postings can have a large influence on the way US diplomatic security is conducted. Although the State Department's level of institutional tolerance of risk has waxed and waned over time, recent

operational concepts—such as "expeditionary diplomacy" (explored in detail later)—have dramatically impacted the way the DS operates today.

Evolving Threats to US Diplomatic Activity

Changes within the security environment faced by the State Department are the second major driver impacting US diplomatic security. The dramatic rise of terrorism targeting diplomatic actors in the late 1960s and 1970s—and the breakdown of the long-standing norm of diplomatic immunity that this signified—initiated what was perhaps the greatest such change to the international diplomatic environment in the last century. Over the past fifty years, the nature of violence has grown from individuals and spontaneous mobs wielding bricks and Molotov cocktails into attacks that now include complex military-style assaults on diplomatic convoys and compounds. Although the DS does not keep statistics on terrorist attacks against overseas State Department personnel prior to the last quarter of the twentieth century—in part because such attacks were relatively rare—between 1970 and 2012, there were over 521 terrorist attacks against US embassies, consulates, and other overseas facilities, as well as diplomatic personnel, in over ninety-two different countries leading to almost five hundred deaths.[4] And between 1977 and 2014, sixty-six US diplomatic personnel were killed in terrorist incidents.[5]

Countering terrorism is now at the center of the US diplomatic security mission in a way unthinkable to the early generations of diplomatic security officers who identified espionage, rather than political violence, as the greatest threat to US diplomacy. This change in focus away from spying toward countering terrorism also reveals the reflexive relationship between diplomatic security and its environment; specific diplomatic security practices should not be understood as intrinsic and timeless aspects of the profession, but are instead responses to concrete threats that have manifested themselves in specific historical instances. For instance, while personal protection of American diplomatic personnel can be seen as a logical and intuitive component of diplomatic security, its actual practice has been highly contingent over time and dependent on the nature of the threat environment. Both American diplomacy and the business of protecting it have changed considerably over time.

World War I and World War II

The modern American diplomatic security experience is firmly rooted in the twentieth century and finds its origins in the First and Second World Wars. As the United States was transforming from a regional to a global power and extending its overseas diplomatic presence, it not only produced greater volumes of diplomatic information in the form of telegraph communiqués, embassy documents, reports, and so on, but the content of this information was becoming more valuable, and hence sensitive and in need of protection.[6] To deal with the new vulnerabilities and responsibilities that had accrued from this changing position in international politics, the State Department formally established its first security office, the Office of the Chief Special Agent (CSA), during the First World War in 1917.[7] However, the primary focus of its work was securing information, rather than protecting department personnel.[8] The CSA took important organizational steps and began the process of functionally differentiating diplomatic security into a different set of tasks. These were to be carried out by a variety of professional specialists, including mail couriers and code clerks, rather than conducted exclusively by the original special agents. Overseas, the CSA also focused on countering espionage and securing sensitive diplomatic information. However, these efforts were often hampered by a broader State Department organizational culture that disregarded the importance of security and had not yet developed a professional security posture.[9]

Growing American power and the scope of its involvement in the Second World War also increased the need for a more sophisticated approach to diplomatic security. Technology was also driving this change, as new electronic eavesdropping techniques (e.g., telephone and embassy infrastructure bugging) produced new risks and expanded the physical security needs of diplomatic facilities. Domestic security guards were now posted around the clock to control department building access in Washington, DC, while overseas, the use of local hires or private US citizens as night watchmen to secure the code rooms and US embassy grounds was increased.[10] Requests for host nations to provide police or military protection also became more common, and embassies considered at greatest risk of attack or the furthest afield often relied on the US military to provide guards.[11] World War II also witnessed the birth of another diplomatic security practice—the use of protective security details for the Secretary of State—which began immediately after the attack on Pearl Harbor.[12]

The Cold War and the Soviet Challenge

As with many other facets of post–World War II US national security, American diplomatic security efforts were dominated by the Cold War competition between the United States and the Soviet Union. Multiple Soviet spy rings targeting State Department personnel were discovered and massive Soviet efforts to bug American embassies in Moscow and elsewhere would continue well into the 1980s and beyond.[13] Indeed, various iterations of the US embassy building in Moscow—including one built as late as 1979 with Soviet labor—were so riddled with electronic eavesdropping devices built into the walls during construction that one US congressman called it "a building that is essentially an eight-story microphone plugged into the Politburo."[14] The embassy was abandoned in 1985 and would eventually be rebuilt under new security procedures including American-sourced materials, labor, and an American guard force overseeing the worksite.

Soviet competition also brought with it a new personnel security challenge in the form physical harassment of US embassy staff operating across Eastern Europe. In response, the State Department instituted an "overseas security program" in the mid-1940s, posting security officers trained in physical and personal security to US embassies.[15] However, despite the creation of these new security positions, protecting confidential information remained the Bureau of Diplomatic Security's priority, and the security of diplomatic personnel would remain a secondary concern for two more decades. For instance, by 1953, only 15 out of 125 officers were assigned to overseas security roles, while the rest conducted more traditional investigations and personnel background evaluations.[16] Even in the 1960s, the number of security personnel posted overseas would remain as low as twenty.[17] The etymological origins of the term "regional security officer"—now an official designation of the head special agent assigned to a US embassy—comes from the fact that these security officers operating in the 1960s had to support an entire region of American diplomatic posts during a single assignment, rather than dedicate themselves to the security management of a single diplomatic post.

The 1970s–1980s and the Rise of Non-State Terrorism

The security picture would change dramatically in the late 1960s and early 1970s as a new threat emerged in the form of terrorism, driven in part by the confluence of two overlapping trends. The first was the transformation

of the Cold War into an ideological struggle for "hearts and minds" across the developing world that had the effect of politicizing American diplomatic premises and their staff in these countries. Second, the decolonization process not only doubled the number of US diplomatic posts (and hence possible targets) worldwide between World War II and the 1970s, but also located them within a Cold War atmosphere of ideologically charged independence movements and civil war. In the words of the Inman Report, a seminal post-terrorist attack investigation into the state of American diplomatic security during this period, in the fifteen years between 1970 and 1985,

> while the older forms of abuse continued against American officials as well as those of other nations, newer, more violent tactics and weapons began to appear. Diplomats more and more frequently were subjected to kidnapping or murder attempts and not a few lost their lives. The international community sought to restate the traditional maxims concerning the inviolability of internationally protected persons, including diplomats, but with little practical effect.[18]

This tendency was epitomized by the 1968 murder of the US ambassador to Guatemala in a failed kidnapping attempt and by the successful kidnapping of the US ambassador to Brazil the following year.[19] By the end of the 1970s, terrorism had grown in sophistication and evolved from attacks against individuals to the targeting of American embassies as political symbols in their own right.[20] Both the quantity and severity of violence against US facilities increased as attackers—now occasionally with state sponsorship—began replacing rocks and bottles with automatics rifles, explosives, car bombs, and rocket-propelled grenades.[21] Although multiple lethal attacks and violent occupations occurred against US diplomatic facilities during this period, two such attacks are particularly salient. The first is the 1979 takeover and occupation of the US embassy in Tehran, in which over fifty American hostages were held captive for 444 days by a group of radicalized students. The second incident was the 1983 suicide car bomb attack at the US embassy in Beirut, which decimated the embassy building and killed sixty-three people including eighteen Americans.[22]

The State Department's response to the emergence of this terrorist threat during this period was mixed. In a plan to avert future kidnappings, a program to armor vehicles used by ambassadors at dangerous posts was initiated. Previously informal counterterrorist intelligence sharing with local police

and military forces devoted to embassy protection was now formalized with the creation of a new Protective Liaison Staff.[23] Embassies considered at most risk began making physical security upgrades, and walls, window grills, and reinforced rooms were combined with new technologies like alarm systems, CCTV, and metal detectors to make them more secure. Diplomatic security enhancements were also being made on the organizational side in Washington, DC. For instance, in 1976 the State Department created a centralized command center in Washington, DC. Its purpose was to maintain a 24/7 crisis communications line and to run an intelligence threat analysis group—both of which would serve US embassies and keep them better connected to each other and the DC home office.[24]

In retrospect, these actions can be seen as reactive and somewhat limited, since most of the State Department security programs put in place during this period typically occurred after a terrorist attack had occurred, and the security upgrades were not universally applied.[25] Congressional funding was also tied to specific attacks, and was insufficient to pay for security upgrades to US embassies worldwide. Money came in the form of one-off budget supplements and typically only applied to specific regions or posts affected in the attack (or deemed at greatest risk). For instance, a 1982 Security Supplemental allocated 50 million dollars to US diplomatic posts in Europe after a series of assassination and kidnapping attempts took place there.[26] These piecemeal responses to discrete terrorist events were problematic insofar as they were ad hoc rather than strategic, and they fell well short of a coordinated and proactive department-wide response to this era's new threat of terrorist mass-casualty attacks.

It would take the massive and fatal car-bomb attack on the US embassy in Beirut in 1983 to force the State Department, Congress, and the United States government as a whole to acknowledge this security problem, and the post-attack Inman Report made a number of important recommendations to address it. First, it called for the creation of a new security bureau that would centralize all security-related functions—including the newly created intelligence desks—into a single State Department security office. Second, it called for a systematic review and replacement of all US diplomatic buildings to a new set of standards (later known as Inman buildings or Inman standards) to reduce their vulnerability from eavesdropping and the new post-Beirut threat of massive explosions. Most famously, this included a recommendation for a 100 foot embassy setback from its perimeter wall. The former advice was implemented in 1986 with the creation of the current Bureau of Diplomatic

Security. However, congressional unwillingness to fund the massive multi-billion dollar investment needed to bring US embassies up to Inman standards, combined with a perception among some within the State Department that these changes would turn American missions into isolated suburban fortresses unfit for day-to-day diplomatic work, postponed this embassy replacement effort.[27]

The 1990s and the Africa Bombings

For the newly reorganized State Department security office, the DS, the beginning of the 1990s was dominated by the end of the Cold War and the subsequent spending cuts to diplomatic security. The DS underwent a hiring freeze from 1990 to 1997 and sustained a loss of funding for almost two hundred positions between 1992 and 1996.[28] However, this trend changed dramatically only two years later in 1998 after a coordinated al-Qaeda terrorist attack detonated two truck bombs nearly simultaneously next to the US embassies in Nairobi, Kenya, and Dar el Salaam, Tanzania. Together, the attacks killed over 220 and wounded more than four thousand people.[29] In a highly critical post-attack report, it was argued that this tragedy could have been avoided if the lessons of the Beirut bombing had not been collectively ignored by the US government fourteen years earlier:

> There was a collective failure by several Administrations and Congresses over the past decade to invest adequate efforts and resources to reduce the vulnerability of US diplomatic missions around the world to terrorist attacks. . . . What is most troubling is the failure of the US government to take the necessary steps to prevent such tragedies through an unwillingness to give sustained priority and funding to security improvements.[30]

With this catastrophic attack now generating enough political capital for a renewed influx of security funding—and with the investigation concluding that 80 percent of State Department overseas facilities needed to be replaced due to insufficient security standards—the US Congress passed the Secure Embassy Construction and Counterterrorism Act (SECCA) of 1999. This started an unprecedented 21 billion dollar construction effort to replace substandard diplomatic facilities, resulting in 109 new facilities having been built worldwide between 1998 and 2014.[31] Beyond the implementation of SECCA, the 1998 Africa bombings initiated a number of other important changes

within the DS. They led to a reversal of the post–Cold War cuts to diplomatic security, creating three hundred special agent positions (bringing that number to roughly a thousand) and elevating the status of the senior embassy security officer, who began reporting directly to the ambassador.[32] Second, they pushed the culture within the DS toward a more proactive security stance as evidenced by the establishment of a Surveillance Detection Program designed to detect pre-attack reconnaissance efforts by terrorists, and by the move to equip embassies with countermeasures for chemical, biological, and radiological attacks before, rather than after, such an attack had occurred.[33]

From 9/11 to Benghazi: A New Kind of Diplomacy

After the events of September 11, 2001, rather than looking for new ways to decrease the risks to US diplomatic security overseas, the United States government now expected the State Department to take on new levels of risk in the pursuit of American national security imperatives that only three years earlier would have been unimaginable. Operating under a concept named "transformational diplomacy," the State Department was now expected to work alongside the US military in weak and failing states under a new strategic objective that emphasized development and direct community engagement. This was implemented in 2006, and its rationale was simple. If threats to the United States were coming from violent non-state actors operating in weak states, the State Department was going to have to shift its resources to these areas and reach beyond government-to-government interactions to engage with and effect political change within these communities directly.[34] This meant that the State Department was now required to work in countries like Afghanistan and Iraq that were essentially active war zones and run high-risk posts in places like Pakistan and Yemen that before 9/11 would have been evacuated due to levels of insecurity.[35]

More recently, the Obama administration had replaced transformational diplomacy with an alternative concept of "expeditionary diplomacy" that deemphasized support for US military operations.[36] However, much of the programmatic content of expeditionary diplomacy and its implications for diplomatic security remained the same as its predecessor. It involves high-risk diplomatic deployments to weak and fragile states undergoing political crises and instability in order to actively shape the political outcome in a way favorable to US interests. The decision to maintain a temporary diplomatic facility

in Benghazi, Libya, during the violent 2012 post-Gaddafi political transition that resulted in the death of the US ambassador and three other Americans has become the most salient and controversial example of the risks associated with expeditionary diplomacy. Yet the Benghazi diplomatic mission must been seen within a wider context. By 2010, State Department support for the expeditionary diplomacy initiative had resulted in sending over 25 percent of its personnel to thirty countries classified as highest or critical risk for conflict and instability.[37]

Overall, it is hard to underestimate the effects of the post-9/11 diplomatic mission on the DS. Security budgets have skyrocketed nearly tenfold over a single decade, growing from 200 million dollars in 1998 to 1.8 billion in 2009.[38] More recent figures that also take into account the post-SECCA costs of new embassy construction and security upgrades place total security funding requests for fiscal year 2015 at over twice that level at around 4.76 billion dollars.[39] The number of DS personnel has also increased dramatically. Special agents more than doubled from seven hundred in 1997 to two thousand in 2014 and the total size of the direct-hire DS workforce also doubled (from fifteen hundred personnel to over three thousand) in the years between 2000 and 2012.[40] By 2017, this figure had grown to 3,488 direct hires, not including 1,989 additional US government personnel working in a diplomatic security capacity.[41] However, even this growth could not keep up with the new demand for security, and private security contractors have been brought in by the DS to meet this outsized demand. In the single greatest personnel increase in the history of US diplomatic security, the DS now runs a program that maintains a roster of thirty thousand private security contractors (discussed in the next section) that simply did not exist fifteen years ago.[42] All of these changes have been driven by the growing size and complexity of its mission in high-threat frontline states like Iraq and Afghanistan, which have radically transformed and expanded the DS as an organization. And despite security budget increases that have been described as the metaphorical equivalent of the DS drinking from a fire hose, the sheer enormity of the task of protecting US diplomats in these conflict zones has nevertheless strained DS resources.

For example, between 2004 and 2008 the DS spent over a third of its annual budget on protecting the Iraq mission alone—a job that by May 2012 was estimated to involve protecting 11,500 personnel at eleven separate diplomatic sites.[43] Yet even at this level of preferential budgetary treatment, domestic DS offices have experienced chronic personnel shortages and have been forced

to send special agents to staff these higher-priority overseas Middle Eastern diplomatic posts. The size of the DS force and the scope of the security work to protect these two outsized missions are also massive. For instance, over a period of twenty months between 2012 and 2014, the State Department spent 224 million dollars to keep an on-duty 933-person contractor guard force to protect its embassy and other diplomatic facilities in the city of Kabul.[44] This work included static guard functions carried out by locals and third-country nationals (such as Nepalese Gurkhas), combined with more complex specialist tasks including personal protection and movement escorts, emergency response teams, and explosive ordinance detection conducted by American contractors with security clearances.[45]

Yet despite the size of this DS contractor guard force operating in Kabul, it is only one single component of a much broader and holistic diplomatic security effort by the DS in Afghanistan that includes special agents, Marine security guards, and a broad array of other specialized DS personnel and security programs. Mapping the contours of this massive DS security apparatus as it operates today is the purpose of the next section.

The DS Today: Structure and Personnel

The secretary of state has formally delegated the responsibility for protecting State Department personnel, facilities, and information to the assistant secretary for diplomatic security, who heads the department's Bureau of Diplomatic Security.[46] Within the DS, the principal actor remains the special agent. However, special agents bear little resemblance to their original forbearers from World War I with the same title. Today's special agent is a law enforcement official with powers of arrest tasked with the coordination, management, and implementation of a wide array of security programs (and other DS personnel) used to advance the mission of the State Department. Numbering approximately two thousand,[47] special agents are trained in a wide array of skill sets that reflects the broad scope of the tasks they are required to perform. This ranges widely from weapons training, tactical driving and armed and unarmed personal protection details, to criminal investigation, intelligence and counterintelligence operations, and the broader set of security management skills related to embassy defense.[48]

DS special agents who are assigned to overseas diplomatic posts (usually embassies or consulates) are designated regional security officers (RSOs) and

manage the embassy's Regional Security Office. They act as the ambassador's senior security and law enforcement advisor in the country, and they oversee all the specific security programs falling under State Department (e.g., chief of mission) authority in that country. Unlike the past, when RSOs truly operated regionally, today virtually every US embassy has an RSO assigned to it. Multiple RSOs may be deployed within a single country, either as heads of security at US consulates or temporary mission facilities, or assisting with security management for a field program (such as a demining program) under chief of mission authority. In these circumstances of multiple in-country RSOs, the embassy RSO will be designated head RSO (HRSO), with the others reporting to him or her.[49] However, it is not uncommon for diplomatic posts—especially larger or more dangerous ones—to have multiple DS special agents assigned to them. In two extreme examples, Iraq had as many as eighty-one and Afghanistan as many as sixty special agents deployed to them at a single time.[50] In these instances, the non-lead special agents are designated as either assistant regional security officers (ARSOs) or the much more recently created position of assistant regional security officer-investigators (ARSO-I). Combined, these three overseas positions are currently being filled by approximately eight hundred special agents, with the remainder of the total pool of two thousand assigned to domestic posts.[51] Beyond this pool of special agents, the DS also has a permanent staff and contractor workforce performing a wide range of specialized security tasks within its various directorates.

Organizationally, the Washington, DC, headquartered DS—often interchangeably referred to as Diplomatic Security Service (DSS) even within formal State Department documents—is a large and very complex institution, with a wide variety of specialized personnel, directorates, bureaus, offices, and sub-offices that together manage over 120 individual security programs. Six DS directorates in particular play a critical role in securing overseas diplomatic missions and will be discussed in detail here: International Programs (DS/IP); High Threat Programs (DS/HTP); Threat Investigations and Analysis (DS/TIA); Training (DS/T); Countermeasures (DS/C); Security Infrastructure (DS/SI).

International Programs Directorate (DS/IP)

The International Programs Directorate has historically been the *primus inter pares* of DS directorates due its tradition of playing a central role in the planning, management, and coordination of security for US diplomatic missions. Its *Office of Regional Directors* (DS/IP/RD) contains six regional desks that

provide regional emergency assistance to embassies during international crises.[52] It also acts as the interface with the Department of Defense for emergency US military support during evacuation operations.

Its *Office of Special Programs and Coordination* (DS/IP/SPC) manages the Marine security guards (MSGs), easily the best-known actors responsible for US embassy security.[53] Often numbering between six and a dozen at an individual diplomatic facility, MSGs have a unique role to play in embassy security.[54] They operate Post 1, an enclosed and reinforced security booth that controls access to the main embassy building, centrally monitors its surveillance devices, and controls its emergency communications systems. Perhaps surprisingly, the MSGs' primary function is "to provide internal security . . . to prevent the compromise of classified material vital to the national security of the United States" rather than protecting State Department personnel and property, which is a secondary mission.[55] This caveat aside, MSGs regularly provide protection to State Department facilities from protests and riots and in extreme exigent circumstances can be deployed and authorized by the RSO to use force—including potentially deadly force with the use of firearms—to secure a diplomatic mission under attack.[56] Other MSG duties include providing security details for diplomatic personnel visits to high-risk locations, and assisting with emergency evacuations. Originally numbering only eighty-three deployed Marines in 1949, the MSG force is expected to expand dramatically in the coming years from a force of 1,500 in 2013 up to 2,500 in 2016. In the aftermath of the Benghazi attack, the State Department initiated a Marine Security Augmentation Unit program that will provide "a squad or more to any diplomatic facility facing a heightened threat, whether from terrorism, civil unrest, or natural disaster."[57]

The International Programs Directorate's *Office of Overseas Protective Operations* (DS/IP/OPO) runs two lesser-known manned security programs: the Surveillance Detection program, and the Worldwide Protective Services program. The former provides American embassies with counter-surveillance teams that monitor the space around US diplomatic posts and other sensitive areas, such as US diplomatic residences. As previously mentioned, it was created in response to the 1998 US embassy bombings in Tanzania and Kenya under the assumption that these bombings could have potentially been averted if the embassy had spotted the terrorists during the pre-attack surveillance phase of their operations.

The Worldwide Protective Services (WPS) program, by contrast, is the name for the massive multi-billion-dollar effort that employs upwards of

thirty thousand private security contractors (PSCs) in order to dramatically enhance the ability of the DS to protect diplomatic facilities and personnel in high-threat regions like Iraq and Afghanistan.[58] The WPS program is also responsible for creating the newest addition to the DS personnel community: the security protective specialist (SPS). These security professionals are directly employed by the State Department, thus differentiating them from the much larger pool of private security contractors the DS uses through the PSCs in its WPS contract.[59] Indeed, this new 2009 addition to the DS security family was allegedly made in a response to a 2007 incident where security contractors protecting a State Department convoy illegally fired on and killed seventeen innocent Iraqi civilians.[60] The immediate purpose of the SPS position was to create a cadre of DS personnel capable of fulfilling a post-incident State Department pledge that every armed vehicle convoy would now include a qualified direct-hire DS security professional to act in a managerial/oversight capacity for private security contractors in these missions.[61] Today, however, the mission of SPSs has expanded beyond convoy security to include assisting RSOs and other special agents with the general management of the WPS private security contractor force—much of which consists of third-country nationals or locals—at high-risk overseas US diplomatic facilities in countries such as Iraq, Afghanistan, Pakistan, and Yemen. As a result, each SPS is required to be a US citizen with a security clearance and is required to undergo an SPS training course run by the DS.

High Threat Programs Directorate (DS/HTP)

The Directorate of High Threat Programs is a new addition to the DS created in 2013 in response to the fatal September 2012 attack on the US diplomatic facility in Benghazi.[62] Its primary function is to act as an advocate for and to enhance the departmental "focus on the security needs of overseas posts most susceptible to risk and threat."[63] Functionally and organizationally, it mirrors the IP Directorate from which it was carved out, with the exception that it focuses on a relatively small number of roughly 15–30 diplomatic posts deemed at high risk of attack. It is also responsible for increasing strategic-level coordination with the Department of Defense for baseline as well as contingency response capabilities for overseas posts. Although it was allocated a budget of 72 million dollars in 2014, this directorate is still in its infancy and does not yet have either a clear formal policy guidance or a clear mandate to enforce its security recommendations across the DS.[64]

Threat Investigations and Analysis Directorate (DS/TIA)

The Threat Investigations and Analysis Directorate was created in 2008 in order to streamline all of the DS programs and offices that analyze, assess, investigate, and disseminate information on threats directed against US diplomatic personnel overseas and domestically within a single directorate. Three of its four offices stand out in particular and deserve to be discussed here: the Diplomatic Security Command Center (DSCC), the Office of Intelligence and Threat Analysis (ITA), and the Office of Protective Intelligence and Investigations (PII). As the name implies, the *Diplomatic Security Command Center* (DS/TIA/DSCC) fulfills a critical role in the DS mission. Located in Washington, DC, it sits at the center of the DS network and acts in an oversight capacity as the primary coordinator of security information between all of the US diplomatic facilities worldwide on a 24/7 basis. In this capacity, it monitors and distributes threat information related to US diplomatic missions and acts as an emergency information facility by providing open and secure lines of communication between overseas posts and Washington. It also provides situational awareness of ongoing DS missions worldwide via technologies that monitor the precise location of diplomatic couriers and DS motorcades.

In contrast, the *Office of Intelligence and Threat Analysis* (DS/TIA/ITA) is designed to act as the primary point of contact between the DS and the broader US intelligence community (IC) and to act as an advocate for DS intelligence requirements. ITA is an intelligence analysis (rather than an intelligence collection) organization. In 2013 alone, it sifted through 1.5 million pieces of intelligence and created over 2,200 intelligence products related to terrorist activities and threats that posed a risk to US diplomatic personnel and facilities.[65] This work includes trend analyses and case studies of terrorism, which in turn feed into its development of the Security Environment Threat List (SETL)—a key in-house risk-management tool used by the DS to help determine the level of resources needed to secure every US diplomatic post. In addition, ITA also conducts tailored real-time threat assessments for diplomatic facilities. ITA is currently evolving in two important ways. First, it is trying to further streamline intelligence sharing by embedding liaison representatives from IC organizations like the National Counterterrorism Center, the National Geospatial-Intelligence Agency, and the National Security Agency within ITA headquarters in Washington, DC. Second, and more recently in the aftermath of the Benghazi incident, ITA has begun deploying analysts overseas with the intent of acquiring better situational awareness of

the defensive and protective measures at individual diplomatic posts, allowing them to create better-tailored intelligence products more relevant for operational security-related decision making.

Finally, this directorate also houses the *Office of Protective Intelligence and Investigations* (PII), which specializes in investigating terrorist attacks and threats made against State Department employees and facilities both overseas and domestically. It runs Rewards for Justice, a program initiated in 1984 that has provided over 125 million dollars to people who have provided information that has led to the prevention of a terrorist attack or the capture of a terrorist fugitive.

Training Directorate (DS/T)

The Training Directorate oversees a large suite of training programs dedicated to meeting the ever-expanding requirements of both its generalist FSO diplomatic personnel as well as its specialist employees who perform various niche State Department security functions. Traditionally, members of the diplomatic corps deploying to high-risk posts received basic training in skills such as tactical driving, emergency medical treatment, and surveillance detection and firearms handling at federal law enforcement training centers and various privately run facilities.[66] DS/T has also created more specialized training for DS personnel, with State Department special agents, security engineering officers, and security technical specialists (each discussed later) taking courses tailored to their specific duties. Much of this DS-specific training takes place at the Diplomatic Security Training Center (DSTC) in Summit Point, West Virginia, a DS-run facility with indoor firing ranges, mock urban complexes, shooting houses, and driving tracks. Recent upgrades to this facility include a mock embassy, and with it, the creation of new high-stress exercises simulating embassies under complex terrorist assaults.[67] In the wake of the Benghazi incident, the DSTC could no longer provide high-threat-post training to the number now required—upward of ten thousand students per year. DS/T is therefore working on building a 461 million dollar Foreign Affairs Security Training Center that can meet these requirements while streamlining and centralizing State Department training into one major DS/T facility.[68]

Beyond the responsibilities described above, the DS/T has two other significant offices. The first is the *Office of Antiterrorism Assistance* (DS/T/ATA), which provides security training and equipment grants to selected foreign governments. Founded in 1983 as a congressional initiative, the Antiterrorism Assistance program annually trains thousands of foreign police and military

personnel in a wide variety of subject areas related to combating terrorism.[69] This includes anti-terrorism courses dealing with kidnap and ransom, WMD and mass casualty attacks, energy pipeline security, and terrorist event response, resolution, investigation, and prosecution. Beyond the intrinsic value of such training for international security writ large, the DS/T conducts "needs assessments" prior to ATA training in order to enhance the ability of foreign national security forces to act as the first line of defense for US diplomatic facilities in that country.

In contrast to a purely training role, the *Office of Mobile Security Deployments* (DS/T/MSD) sends out small six-person teams of specially trained special agents to augment security at overseas diplomatic posts threatened by spikes in risk levels. Historically housed in the training division because of the mobile training teams that conduct advanced security training at posts around the globe, MSDs also include tactical support teams that augment DS protective details with counter-assault capabilities, and security support teams that enhance embassy and consulate security.[70]

Countermeasures Directorate (DS/C)

Even within the State Department, the Countermeasures Directorate is often still associated with its early efforts at countering Soviet espionage. Its *Office of Security Technology* (DS/C/ST) continues to run programs designed to identify specific technical threats to department information (such as eavesdropping technologies) and the countermeasures needed to defeat them. Today, however, its work has expanded to include engineering State Department responses to technical terrorist threats such as radio-activated improvised explosive devices, better known as IEDs.[71]

Its *Office of Physical Security Programs* (DS/C/PSP) and related sub-offices run a number of important initiatives—including the management of State Department specialist personnel—that were originally created in response to Soviet spying. For example, it manages the *Naval Support Unit Seabees*, a group of enlisted US Navy engineers seconded to the State Department for special construction support.[72] This unit was set up as a permanent addition to the State Department in 1966 via a special memorandum between the US Navy and State Department two years after a team of forty-nine Seabees helped uncover a massive network of listening devices planted in the US embassy in Moscow.[73] In response to this perennial electronic bugging threat, the DS/C now monitors the embassy construction process from beginning to end, including the acquisition and transportation of the building materials

(done with diplomatic courier oversight) as well as maintaining construction site security. This office also manages two other groups of DS specialists in physical security—the *Security Engineering Officers* (SEOs) and the *Security Technical Specialists* (STSs)—that work with the Seabees to install and maintain everything from reinforced locks, doors, and windows to more sophisticated counter-forced-entry, ballistic-resistant, and anti-ram equipment for embassies and consulates. This office has developed to the point where its SEOs have a research and development unit that is inventing and patenting (rather than merely purchasing) new technologies to counter threats to department personnel it has identified in the field.[74]

At a strategic level, all of this engineering work is closely coordinated with the State Department's Bureau of Overseas Building Operations, one of the few State Department bureaus external to the DS that maintains a security function. And it is done to the specifications of SECCA regulations created in the wake of the 1998 East Africa embassy bombings. As another example of the expansion of security requirements occurring during the last fifteen years, the DS/C now manages an office called the Defensive Equipment Armored Vehicles division that has grown its worldwide fleet of armored vehicles from 115 prior to the 1998 East Africa bombings to over three thousand in 2010 (with nine hundred armored cars in Iraq alone).[75]

The last major component of the Countermeasures Directorate is the *Office of Diplomatic Courier Service* (D/C/DC). It houses the diplomatic couriers, another DS specialist position, who are responsible for overseeing the secure transportation of classified and sensitive documents in accordance with the Vienna Conventions regulating diplomatic and consular interstate relations. They are essentially logistics specialists responsible for keeping eyes on data as well as sensitive equipment and other materials via a worldwide air, sea, road, and rail transportation network. The volume of this work is significant, with courier traffic exceeding over ten million pounds in 2013 alone.[76]

Security Infrastructure Directorate (DS/SI)

The *Security and Infrastructure Directorate* was created in 2003 by combining the Office of Computer Security, the Office of Information Security, and the Office of Personnel Security and Suitability.[77] The *Office of Computer Security* (DS/SI/CS), originally founded in 1998, is responsible for protecting the department's computer network system. Its Cyber Threat Analysis Division acts as the department's focal point for cyber-threat intelligence, compiling

and disseminating daily reports on cyber threats and deploying cyber-threat response teams throughout the department. On a worldwide and daily basis, it monitors and analyzes department computer networks used by more than a hundred thousand individuals at over 270 foreign diplomatic posts and 129 domestic facilities for security vulnerabilities, anomalies, and breaches.[78]

The office also uses a Red Cell Branch to attempt to hack into or otherwise compromise department computer networks in order to preemptively respond to more serious cyber threats. Cyber-security assistance to overseas diplomatic posts is provided by specialist personnel named regional computer security officers who ensure classified and unclassified departmental computer networks around the world are maintained to current government standards. The *Office of Personnel Security and Suitability* (DS/SI/PSS) is responsible for conducting background investigations and security clearance checks for department employees. As of 2004, it was using 130 direct-hire employees and 600 contractor field investigators to conduct twenty thousand background investigations annually.[79] Its *Office of Information Security* (DS/SI/IS) is primary responsibility for ensuring compliance with formal government directives on the management and protection of department classified and sensitive information. Its duties include certifying sensitive compartmentalized information facilities (SCIFs) within embassies as well as initiatives to conduct security reviews of firms that are involved with classified or sensitive information contracts with the department.[80]

In sum, in the hundred years since the creation of the first permanent State Department security office in 1917, American diplomatic security has evolved—and continues to evolve—as a highly diverse and specialized bureau. Yet despite the size and resources of the DS, the United States military (and to a lesser extent the United States intelligence community) also play an important security role for the State Department. It is this mission we turn to next.

The US Military: Diplomatic Security of Last Resort

Although the State Department is committed to avoiding security dependencies on the Department of Defense that would infringe upon its freedom of action and its ability to effectively conduct its work, the United States armed forces nevertheless provide a variety of security support functions for US diplomatic missions.[81] At a general level, in places where the US military and State Department personnel are operating in the same conflict zone, US

military area commanders are typically tasked with providing a degree of security assistance to US chief of mission civilian personnel working in their area of operations. The US military also provides security for State Department personnel embedded directly into US military units as they implement their programs in very high-risk posts in places such as Afghanistan.

Perhaps the most crucial security role played by the US military on behalf of the State Department is to be its security provider of last resort when the host state is no longer willing or able to provide this security. While each branch of the US armed forces plays a role in this last resort function, it is the US Marine Corps—paralleling is special role in embassy security—that has an outsized role in responding to emergencies at US diplomatic posts.

Although not designed exclusively as a diplomatic security unit, Marine *Fleet Antiterrorism Security Teams* (FASTs) have been the Pentagon's combat force of choice for rendering quick emergency assistance to US diplomatic posts since their creation in 1987. In contrast to the Marine Corps MSGs permanently deployed to embassies in a defensive capacity, FASTs are rapid-reaction anti-terrorism units that deploy in fifty-man platoons trained in combat tactics "to take a hostile area and then secure it as long as it takes."[82] FAST platoons have deployed to reinforce US embassies in Liberia, Haiti, Iraq, and Afghanistan, and were used to protect US embassies during the Arab Spring in both Egypt and Yemen.[83] FASTs have also been deployed to add security after a terrorist attack has already occurred, including the 1998 Tanzania and Kenya attacks and the 2012 attack in Benghazi.

For larger missions, including non-combatant evacuations and full embassy evacuations, the Marine Corps has used *US Marine Expeditionary Units* (MEUs)—a brigade-level amphibious quick-reaction force of over two thousand personnel with integrated air combat, logistics, and command components forward deployed around the world on amphibious ships.

Despite the relatively quick deployment capabilities of MEUs (and FASTs in particular), the inability of the Pentagon to use these units to successfully intervene and defend the US diplomatic mission in Benghazi during the 2012 attack has fueled innovation within the Marine Corps' diplomatic crisis response force. In 2013 the Marines created the *Special Purpose Marine Air-Ground Task Force* (SP-MAGTF) with the express purpose of being able to fly a company of US Marines to act as a first responder for US embassies in Africa. This new force, based on an infantrymen company, Osprey tilt rotor aircraft, and Hercules refueling planes, "is not an MEU or a FAST, but

is intended to complement or augment those forces when necessary."[84] Rather poignantly, the creation of this new unit in the wake of the Benghazi attack came full circle when a SP-MAGTF was deployed to assist with the evacuation of personnel from the US embassy in Tripoli to neighboring Tunisia in July 2014.

American intelligence agency field missions have also entered into informal and reciprocal security arrangements with their State Department field mission counterparts operating in the same vicinity. In recent Senate testimony related to the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) security team that responded during the attack on the State Department facility in Benghazi in 2012 it was revealed that there was "a common understanding that each group would come to the other's aid if attacked."[85] This fact sheds light on a little-known security relationship between the DS and the CIA, as well as the practical importance of individual State Department missions developing informal security relationships.

Conclusion

The United States' diplomatic security apparatus that we see today is incomparable in its size, budget, degree of institutionalization, and level of sophistication when set against its humble origins in World War I. As we have seen, the growth of the State Department's security offices has been driven by the expanding size of the American diplomatic mission itself and the changing characteristics of the threat environment. While some aspects of US diplomatic security's expansion have been slow and incremental responses to new security requirements, much of the growth has occurred in the aftermath of a violent and catastrophic attack. American attention to and funding for diplomatic security has followed a boom and bust pattern of funding spikes following such tragedies—most notably after terrorist bomb attacks against US embassies in 1983 and 1998. Managing the growth of the DS in a strategic fashion—and coordinating this growth with the relevant governmental funding agencies (i.e., Congress) is of crucial long-term importance to the State Department.

So too is the management of the post-9/11 burden placed on the DS by requiring it to protect State Department personnel being aggressively deployed to frontline states like Iraq that only fifteen years earlier would have been evacuated. Understanding the complex political and economic

cost-benefit analysis of building and adequately controlling a massive private security contractor workforce is only one of the more difficult problems facing the DS as it moves into the future. Part of this process has arguably begun already, and involves the US government assessing the long-term efficacy of the State Department's posture of expeditionary diplomacy. Indeed, in the wake of the Benghazi incident, there have been echoes of the recommendations from the 1998 post-Africa bombings report that said in some cases the State Department needed to consider closing US diplomatic posts in high-risk countries altogether.[86] Ultimately, as explained by Thomas Stocking in this volume, the answer to these questions will involve establishing a risk management standard that clearly articulates the correct balance between the DS mission of protecting State Department diplomatic personnel while allowing them the freedom to carry out their mission of conducting America's foreign policy.

Notes

1. United States Department of State, Bureau of Diplomatic Security, *History of the Bureau of Diplomatic Security of the United States Department of State* (2011), x.

2. Government Accountability Office, "Diplomatic Security: Key Oversight Issues," (September 2017), 12. Data taken from www.usembassy.gov/index.html and DS Bureau of Public Affairs electronic material dated June 2014.

3. Michael Courts, "State Department Diplomatic Security Challenges," p. 1, Testimony before the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, November 15, 2012, http://www.gao.gov/assets/660/650053.pdf.

4. Erin Miller, "August 2013 Security Threat to Americans Abroad," Background report (National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism, 2013), 3.

5. Author email correspondence with the DS Bureau of Public Affairs, March 18, 2015. This figure of sixty-six excludes non-US nationals killed while working at US diplomatic facilities. Alex Tiersky and Susan Epstein, *Securing U.S. Diplomatic Facilities and Personnel Abroad: Background and Policy Issues* (Washington, DC: Congressional Research Service, May 28, 2014).

6. United States Department of State, Bureau of Diplomatic Security, *History of the Bureau of Diplomatic Security of the United States Department of State*, 1–4.

7. Ibid., 7.

8. Ibid., 5.

9. Martin Alexander, "Safes and Houses: William C. Bullitt, Embassy Security and the Shortcomings of the US Foreign Service in Europe before the Second World War," *Diplomacy and Statecraft* 2, no. 2 (1991): 181–210.

10. United States Department of State, Bureau of Diplomatic Security, *History of the Bureau of Diplomatic Security of the United States Department of State*, 46.

11. Ibid.

12. Ibid., 52

13. Ruud Van Dijk et al., eds., *Encyclopedia of the Cold War* (New York: Routledge, 2008), 826–28; Sharon Maneki, *Learning from the Enemy: The GUNMAN Project* (Center for Cryptologic History, National Security Agency, 2012), www.nsa.gov/about/_files/cryptologic_heritage/center_crypt_history/publications/Learning_From_the_Enemy_The_GUNMAN_Project.pdf (accessed January 5, 2015).

14. George Lardner Jr., "Unbeatable Bugs: The Moscow Embassy Fiasco," *Washington Post*, June 18, 1990, https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1990/06/18/unbeatable-bugs-the-moscow-embassy-fiasco/5bb6dcbf-0a61-4948-a953-e2d81085ed05/?noredirect=on&utm_term=.c49811a938a1.

15. GAO, *State Department: Diplomatic Security's Recent Growth Warrants Review* (November 2009), 2. See also United States Department of State, Bureau of Diplomatic Security, *History of the Bureau of Diplomatic Security of the United States Department of State*, 81–91.

16. United States Department of State, Bureau of Diplomatic Security, *History of the Bureau of Diplomatic Security of the United States Department of State*, 199.

17. Eric J. Boswell, "The Diplomat's Shield: Diplomatic Security in the World Today," Testimony before the Senate Homeland Security Subcommittee on Oversight of Government Management, the Federal Workforce, and the District of Columbia, December 9, 2009, 16.

18. *Report of the Secretary of State's Advisory Panel on Overseas Security*, June 1985, http://1997–2001.state.gov/www/publications/1985inman_report/inman1.html.

19. Brian Jenkins and Janera Johnson, *International Terrorism: A Chronology, 1968–1974* (Santa Monica, CA: RAND, March 1975), 13–6.

20. Other nations' embassies were also being targeted. Between 1971 and 1980, forty-four embassies experienced takeovers. See Linda S. Frey and Marsha Frey, *The History of Diplomatic Immunity* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1999).

21. United States Department of State, Bureau of Diplomatic Security, *History of the Bureau of Diplomatic Security of the United States Department of State*, 201.

22. For a concise yet detailed summary of these attacks, see J. Craig Barker, *The Protection of Diplomatic Personnel* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006).

23. United States Department of State, Bureau of Diplomatic Security, *History of the Bureau of Diplomatic Security of the United States Department of State*, 223–24.

24. Ibid.

25. *Report of the Secretary of State's Advisory Panel on Overseas Security.*

26. Ibid.

27. James Risen, "Bombing in East Africa: The Security Issue, Bombed Embassies Did Not Meet New Security Standards," *New York Times*, August 8, 1998.

28. United States Department of State, Bureau of Diplomatic Security, *History of the Bureau of Diplomatic Security of the United States Department of State*, 317.

29. US Department of State, *Report of the Accountability Review Boards: Bombings of the US Embassies in Nairobi, Kenya and Dar es Salaam, Tanzania on August 7, 1998*, http://1997- 2001.state.gov/www/regions/africa/board_letter.html.

30. Ibid.

31. GAO, *Diplomatic Security: Overseas Facilities May Face Greater Risks Due to Gaps in Security-Related Activities, Standards, and Policies* (June 2014), 35.

32. United States Department of State, Bureau of Diplomatic Security, *History of the Bureau of Diplomatic Security of the United States Department of State*, 356–57.

33. GAO, *Diplomatic Security*, 35.

34. Justin Vaisse, *Transformational Diplomacy*, Challiot paper number 103 (Paris: Institute for Security Studies, June 2007).

35. GAO, *Diplomatic Security*; Courts, "State Department Diplomatic Security Challenges," 4.

36. "Expeditionary Diplomacy and the Casamance Conflict," Remarks by Ambassador James R. Bullington, Dakar, Senegal, September 9, 2013.

37. State Department, *Leading Through Civilian Power: The First Quadrennial Diplomacy and Development Review*, 2010, 122.

38. Courts, "State Department Diplomatic Security Challenges," 2.

39. Tiersky and Epstein, *Securing U.S. Diplomatic Facilities and Personnel Abroad*.

40. Ibid., 4–5.

41. GAO, "Diplomatic Security: Key Oversight Issues," 2.

42. The most recent figures of total DS "contract personnel" is 45,870, but it is unclear if this figure refers to the private security contractors discussed below. See ibid., 2.

43. Ibid, 4.

44. Office of Inspector General, "Audit of Bureau of Diplomatic Security Worldwide Protective Services Contract Task Order 10, Kabul Embassy Security Force," October 2014, 1; Eugenio Cusumano, "Diplomatic Security for Hire: The Causes and Implications of Outsourcing Embassy Protection," *Hague Journal of Diplomacy* 12, no. 1 (2016): 1–29.

45. Confidential interview with US State Department official, November 19, 2014; Eugenio Cusumano and Christopher Kinsey, "Bureaucratic Interests and the Outsourcing of Security: The Privatization of Diplomatic Protection, in the United States and the United Kingdom," *Armed Forces & Society* 41, no. 4 (2015): 591–615.

46. DS is also obliged to protect all of the various US federal government employees who are operating in a country overseas under the umbrella coordination and "chief of mission" authority of the US ambassador.

47. Tiersky and Epstein, *Securing U.S. Diplomatic Facilities and Personnel Abroad*, 4.

48. Depending on the assignment, specific training will include but is not limited to personal protection techniques, firearms, defensive driving, criminal passport and visa fraud, counterintelligence, medical training, explosive ordinance detection, electronic countermeasures, and risk management techniques.

49. Email correspondence, Diplomatic Security Public Affairs (DS/PA), November 26, 2014.

50. Boswell, "The Diplomat's Shield," 10, for the Iraqi numbers. The Afghanistan figure comes from a confidential interview with a State Department official on November 19, 2014.

51. Tiersky and Epstein, *Securing U.S. Diplomatic Facilities and Personnel Abroad*, 4.

52. These desks are modeled on and increasingly aligned with "main State Department's" own regionally specialized bureaus. Telephone interview, DS Public Affairs officer, December 10, 2014.

53. MSGs are seconded to the State Department from the Marine Corps Embassy Security Group by a historical memorandum of agreement signed between the Department of the Navy and the Department of State in 1948.

54. The numbers are based on a confidential interview with US State Department official, November 19, 2014.

55. Marine Corps Embassy Group website: http://www.mcesg.marines.mil/About/MCESGMission.aspx. This emphasis on information rather than personnel security has been reassessed in the wake of the Benghazi incident.

56. Decisions to use MSGs in this capacity will be influenced by discussions and agreements with the local government. Confidential interview with US State Department official, November 19, 2014.

57. Department of State, Bureau of Diplomatic Security, "Year in Review 2013: Confronting Danger," 20.

58. Cusumano, "Diplomatic Security for Hire," 45.

59. See DS job vacancy advertisement: http://careers.state.gov/lna/vacancy-announcements/sps.

60. Dan Roberts, "US Jury Convicts Blackwater Guards in 2007 Killing of Iraqi Civilians," *The Guardian*, October 23, 2014, http://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2014/oct/22/us-jury-convicts-blackwater-security-guards-iraq.

61. See http://www.state.gov/m/ds/career/c28469.htm.

62. Statement by Bill Miller, Deputy Assistant Secretary of High Threat Posts, Bureau of Diplomatic Security, Department of State, to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, July 16, 2013.

63. Office of Inspections, "Inspection of the Bureau of Diplomatic Security, High Threat Programs Directorate" September 2014, 1.

64. Ibid.

65. Department of State, Bureau of Diplomatic Security, "Year in Review 2013: Confronting Danger," 11.

66. Patrick Cullen, "The Transformation of Private Military Training," in Donald Stoker, ed., *Military Advising and Assistance: From Mercenaries to Privatization, 1815–2007* (London: Routledge, 2008).

67. Department of State, Bureau of Diplomatic Security, "Year in Review 2013," 33.

68. US Department of State website, http://www.state.gov/recovery/fastc/.

69. Alan Bigler, "Many Countries Benefit from U.S. Antiterrorism Training," *U.S. Foreign Policy Agenda* 6, no. 3 (2001): 18.

70. United States Bureau of Diplomatic Security, "Diplomatic Security: Mobile Security Deployments," 1–8, www.state.gov/m/ds/rls/rpt.

71. Office of Inspector General, Report of Inspection, "Inspection of Bureau of Diplomatic Security/Countermeasures Directorate," November 2010, http://oig.state.gov/system/files/152965.pdf.

72. As of November 2010 there were 144 Seabees working for the State Department on two to three year tours. Ibid.

73. US Navy Seabees and US Marine Security Guards are the only two groups of enlisted US military personnel that are formally embedded in the US State Department by special memorandum. Kurt Riggs, "Seabees of State: World's-eye View," *Seabee*, Spring 2008: 25.

74. Department of State, Bureau of Diplomatic Security, "Year in Review 2013," 16.

75. Office of Inspector General, Report of Inspection, "Inspection of Bureau of Diplomatic Security/Countermeasures Directorate."

76. Department of State, Bureau of Diplomatic Security, "Year in Review 2013," 30.

77. Office of Inspector General, Report of Inspection, "Bureau of Diplomatic Security, Directorate of Security Infrastructure," December 2004, http://oig.state.gov/system/files/146711.pdf.

78. Author's written correspondence, Bureau of Diplomatic Security, December 7 2014.

79. Office of Inspector General, Report of Inspection, "Bureau of Diplomatic Security, Directorate of Security Infrastructure," 9.

80. In 2004 this included over four hundred companies. Ibid., 25.

81. "Pentagon Intensifies U.S. Diplomatic Security in Baghdad," Reuters, June 15, 2014.

82. Leo J. Daugherty III, *The Marine Corps and the State Department: Enduring Partners in U.S. Foreign Policy, 1789–2007* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2009), 288.

83. David Gurfein, "More Marines to Libya: FAST Companies," *USNI News*, September 12, 2012.

84. Dan Lemothe, "3-Star Details New Marine Crisis Response Force," *Marine Corps Times*, April 21, 2013.

85. Ibid., 27.

86. US Department of State, *Report of the Accountability Review Boards*.

2 Chinese Diplomatic Security

Meeting and Managing New Challenges

Jingdong Yuan

Introduction

Scholars have extensively examined how China's rise as a global power and its proactive foreign policy affect international politics and in particular the evolving US-China relationship. Much less attention, by contrast, has been paid to other challenges that Chinese diplomacy faces today, such as the security of its foreign missions and diplomats and the growing risks that Chinese businesses, workers, students, and tourists encounter as a result of China's expanding global presence. These latter issues require consular attention and protection, which in turn impose additional responsibilities and risks on Chinese diplomatic missions. Unlike in the past, when China's low-profile policies and its long-standing position of noninterference in other countries' internal affairs allowed Chinese diplomats to work in relative safety, Chinese diplomatic missions and personnel are now facing growing security threats. This new phenomenon has already generated some discussion in China. However, the country's legal, institutional, and material responses have remained inadequate relative to its expanding diplomatic activities and foreign policy profile, and underdeveloped in comparison with major powers such as the United States.

This chapter provides a preliminary analysis of China's diplomatic security policy and practice, seeking to answer the following research questions: What threats have Chinese diplomatic missions and diplomats faced in the past and especially since the end of the Cold War as Beijing pursues a more

active foreign policy? What legal and institutional frameworks and decision-making processes has China adopted or plans to introduce to enhance diplomatic security? Lastly, what reforms would be necessary to enhance the protection of Chinese foreign service missions, and how will Chinese diplomatic security develop in the near future?

It begins with a brief overview of expanding Chinese diplomatic activities over the past seven decades and especially since the global financial crisis (GFC), when Beijing started adopting a more active diplomatic posture that greatly expanded its diplomatic footprint. This is followed by a discussion of the diplomatic security challenges faced by China during this period, focusing on the limited number of incidents and threats involving Chinese missions overseas and the sources of those threats. In particular, this section will explore the extent to which China's growing global presence and its proactive foreign policy have increased the likelihood of attacks on its diplomatic premises and diplomats serving overseas. It also evaluates Beijing's responses in addressing these challenges in terms of legal, institutional, and resources arrangements, including suggestions by Chinese analysts that the government should broaden the means with which to protect and safeguard diplomatic facilities and personnel in high-risk locations. The chapter concludes with some general observations on the resulting implications for future Chinese diplomatic security arrangements.

Chinese Diplomatic Security: Past and Present

After the People's Republic of China (PRC) was established on October 1, 1949, it received diplomatic recognition from only ten socialist countries—the Soviet Union, Bulgaria, Romania, Hungary, North Korea, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Mongolia, East German, Albania—and a few Asian states (India, Burma, Indonesia, Pakistan). At the time, most Western countries, led by the United States, boycotted the diplomatic recognition of the PRC and continued to treat the Republic of China (Taiwan) as the legitimate representative of China. The early 1960s witnessed a second wave of diplomatic recognition as a growing number of European colonies in Asia and Africa gained independence.[1]

In the wake of the historical visit to China by US president Nixon in 1972, a period beginning in the mid-1970s witnessed a third wave of diplomatic recognition, this time from many developed countries, including the Federal

Republic of Germany, Japan, and Australia. As of September 2018, China maintained close to 260 diplomatic missions overseas, including in 178 countries with which it had established diplomatic relations, 70 consular offices, and 12 permanent delegations to international organizations, with over five thousand personnel from the Ministries of Foreign Affairs, Commerce, Education, Science and Technology (now Industry and Information), and the Department of Intelligence of the General Staff Department (now the Joint Staff Department). The Ministry of Foreign Affairs had the largest contingent, with 2,500 diplomats.[2]

During the Cold War, PRC diplomats and diplomatic missions faced periodic threats, primarily from the KMT regime in Taiwan under Chiang Kai-shek and its supporters. These included assassinations, bombings, and attempts to incite defection. The most prominent case was the downing of *Princess Kashmir*, an Air India passenger plane hired by the Chinese delegation to the 1995 Bandung Conference in Indonesia, which killed eleven Chinese officials and reporters. The assassination attempt clearly targeted Zhou Enlai, the Chinese premier.[3] In late 1971, soon after China was reinstated to the United Nations Security Council, a Chinese diplomat in the PRC delegation died of a mysterious poisoning, which was supposedly meant for Ambassadors Huang Hua and Chen Chu, China's representative and deputy representative respectively to the Security Council at the time. The case remains unsolved till this day.[4]

While historically Chinese diplomatic missions were not the targets of attacks and Chinese diplomats were able to work overseas without facing many direct threats, they still faced security risks from interstate conflicts, internal turmoil, or civil wars in hosting countries. In most circumstances, Chinese diplomatic missions and diplomats were caught up in the violence, with property being damaged and casualties among its personnel. In the 970s, the conflict between Uganda and Tanzania saw the Chinese embassy in Uganda subjected to a series of serious security threats as the hostilities engulfed the capital.[5] In January 1971, Chinese diplomats were caught in the crossfire during a coup attempt while attending a reception at the Moroccan king's summer palace.[6] In March 1984, during the civil war in Lebanon, an artillery shell penetrated the eleventh floor of the building where the Chinese embassy was housed, barely missing the personnel working at the time and causing severe damage to the property.[7] Other examples of indirect risks to Chinese diplomats caused by civil wars and social unrest occurred in Yemen in the late 1960s, Kuwait during the first Gulf War (Desert Storm)

in 1991, Yemen again during the civil war in 1993, and Algeria in the early 1990s.

However, since the end of the Cold War, Chinese diplomatic missions and diplomats have started to face direct attacks specifically motivated by hostility against the Chinese government and its policies. Such attacks were launched by terrorist groups such as the East Turkestan Islamic Movement (ETIM), which is linked to Uighur separatist elements in Xinjiang and Central Asia. In 1997 and 1998, the Chinese embassy in Ankara and its consulate general in Istanbul were attacked by ETIM terrorists. The attacks involved gunshots, arson, and a planned bombing of the diplomatic premises.[8] However, the most damaging attack on a Chinese diplomatic mission overseas occurred in May 1999, when NATO bombed the Chinese embassy in Belgrade, killing three Chinese journalists and injuring more than twenty embassy personnel, including five diplomats.[9] Direct attacks on Chinese diplomatic consulates and premises have increased in recent years. These include forced entries, arson, suicide bombings, and armed ambushes. The perpetrators have been of various backgrounds: ethnic separatists groups in Xinjiang and Tibet connected to terrorist groups such as ETIM; local insurgents and political activists who resent a Chinese presence in their country, especially when it involves large influxes of Chinese investment and Chinese workers employed on infrastructure and energy related projects; extremist organizations, such as ISIS, that are increasingly targeting Chinese citizens and entities in retaliation for the Chinese government's policy on ethnic and religious minorities; or simply criminals who attack poorly guarded diplomatic compounds or diplomats for financial gain. The Chinese news media are increasingly picking up and reporting on such incidents.

In the evening of February 10, 2003, for instance, gangsters infiltrated the Chinese embassy in Guinea-Bissau and attacked diplomatic personnel, leaving the ambassador badly injured. On July 27, 2004, a rocket exploded near the Chinese embassy in Afghanistan, causing damage to the property. In April 2005, the Chinese embassy in Togo was attacked by criminals who stole embassy vehicles and damaged property.[10] In November 2006, four gunmen forced their way into the Economic and Commercial Counselor's Office in the Chinese embassy in Venezuela, overpowered eight Chinese diplomats and stole more than $30,000. The Chinese consulate general office in San Francisco was damaged in 2008 and again in 2014 by anti-China protesters who used incendiary devices to set fire to the property, causing significant damage.[11] In July 2009, Uighur independence activists attacked the Chinese embassy in

the Netherlands and the Chinese consulate general in Munich, causing damage to both properties. In October 2010, the Chinese embassy in Tokyo twice received threatening letters containing bullets. In December 2011, a shot was fired at the Chinese consulate general in Los Angeles.[12] On rare occasions, Chinese diplomats have even faced security threats from their own associates; in a recent incident, a Chinese vice consul and a finance officer in the Chinese consulate general in Cebu, the Philippines, were reported shot dead by another member of the consulate staff at a local Chinese restaurant.[13]

The Chinese embassy in Kyrgyzstan has twice been attacked. In July 2002, a Chinese diplomat was killed by ETIM terrorists. Then, on August 30, 2016, a suicide bomber believed to be linked to Syria-based Uighur militants blew himself up inside the Chinese embassy compound in Bishkek, injuring three Kyrgyz staff.[14] In July 2015, a suicide bomber rammed a truck filled with explosives into the walls around one of Mogadishu's most secure hotels where the Chinese embassy was housed, killing one Chinese armed police officer and injuring three others.[15] Since the outbreak of the civil war in Syria, anti-government forces have targeted Chinese diplomatic missions because of Beijing's continued recognition of the Assad government, while one rebel commander has vowed to launch "full-scale attacks" on the embassy. There have also been a number of arrests of people suspected of planning to bomb embassy vehicles. As a result, eight Chinese armed police officers have been assigned to protect the premises of the embassy to Syria and its diplomats.[16]

With a growing worldwide presence of nearly 260 Chinese diplomatic missions, some inevitably operate in sensitive and dangerous locations. China is typically among the first to reopen its diplomatic facilities in countries emerging from a state of war and with domestic order yet to be restored. It is also among the last to evacuate its diplomats in the face of threats of civil war, internal unrest, or military coups. For example, China continues to operate in Iraq, Afghanistan, Syria, Libya, South Sudan, Angola and other countries where the threat to its diplomatic staff is high. The need to maintain a diplomatic presence at the risk of exposing Chinese diplomatic facilities and personnel to extreme dangers reflects Beijing's foreign policy strategy of proactively securing the country's commercial interests. This is especially so in countries where China has a significant investment in energy and natural resources.[17]

Publically available records suggest that compared with the number of injuries suffered by diplomats from other major powers such as the United

TABLE 1. Attacks on Chinese diplomatic missions, 1955–2016.

Date(s) of Incident(s)	*Location*	*Nature of Incident(s)*
April 11, 1955	Near Natuna Islands	Mid-air explosion onboard the Kashmir Princess, an Air India passenger airline hired by the Chinese government for the Bandung Conference, Indonesia. Eleven delegates and reporters were killed.
Late 1971	Chinese delegation to the United Nations, New York	One staff was poisoned to death.
May 15, 1985	Lima, Peru	Chinese embassy attacked by the Shining Path, an armed Peruvian communist group; no reported casualties.
March 1984	Beirut, Lebanon	Artillery shells rammed through Chinese embassy causing severe damage; no reported casualties.
1997 and 1998	Ankara and Istanbul, Turkey	Chinese embassy and consulate general attacked by ETIM terrorists; no reported casualties.
May 7, 1999	Belgrade, Yugoslavia	NATO bombing of the Chinese embassy killing three journalists and wounding more than twenty embassy staff, including five diplomats.
July 2002	Kyrgyzstan	Chinese diplomat killed by ETIM terrorists.
February 10, 2003	Bissau, Guinea-Bissau	Gangsters infiltrated the Chinese embassy and attacked diplomats, seriously wounding the ambassador.
April 2005	Lomé, Togo	Chinese embassy attacked by criminals causing property damages; vehicles lootted.
November 2006	Caracas, Venezuela	Gunmen stormed Chinese Economic and Commerical Office, taking away US$30,000.
July 2009	The Hague, Netherlands; Munich, Germany	Chinese embassy and consulate general attacked by Uighur independence activitists causing damage; no casualties reported.
October 2010	Tokyo, Japan	Chinese embassy twice received threatening letters containing bullets.
February 2012	Tripoli, Libya	Syrian and Libyan protesters tried to storm the Chinese embassy, causing property damages.
September 2013	Damascus, Syria	Syrian opposition forces firing artillery shells against Syrian presidential palace, with one falling into the compound of the Chinese embassy, injuring one local employee.
2008, 2014	San Francisco, USA	Front gate of the Chinese consulate general office set afire by arsonists causing significant damage.
October 2015	Cebu, Philippines	A Chinese diplomatic couple killed two other colleagues and wounded the consul general.
July 2015	Mogadishu, Somalia	Suicide bomber rammed truck into a hotel where the Chinese embassy is housed, killing one Chinese armed police officer.
August 30, 2016	Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan	Suicide bomber attacked the Chinese embassy, injuring three Kyrgyz staff.

Sources: Compiled by author from various media coverage.

States, the number of casualties involving Chinese diplomats appears to be much lower, presumably because the latter have simply been less exposed. China has only suffered nine deaths from attacks on its diplomatic corps since 1949.[18] This figure stands in considerable contrast to almost five hundred attacks on US diplomatic missions between 1970 and 2012, resulting in the deaths of sixty-five US diplomats, including six ambassadors.[19] This lower exposure to lethal threats has been the result not so much of the vigorous security measures that safeguard Chinese facilities and personnel, albeit these are gradually being enhanced, but of the disciplined nature of Chinese diplomats with regard to their movements and the places they visit. Adopting a low profile has reduced Chinese diplomats' exposure to risks. At the same time, the country's neutral foreign policy stance and its adherence to the principle of noninterference in the domestic politics of host countries has also helped. As the chapter discusses below, however, these conditions are undergoing change as China assumes more active diplomacy. Furthermore, as Chinese overseas interests grow, demand for diplomatic and consular protection measures will in all likelihood increase as the threat/risks to Chinese diplomats and its citizens escalate.

Legal, Institutional, and Material Arrangements

After the Cold War, and especially since the 2007–2008 global financial crisis, Beijing has pursued a proactive foreign policy, and now plays a more prominent international role. However, the legal, institutional, and material arrangements underlying Chinese diplomatic security have yet to catch up with China's growing foreign policy activism. This is especially so in relation to the escalating security challenges facing Chinese overseas diplomatic missions and personnel.

Relevant legislation and regulations currently in effect include the Law of the People's Republic of China on Diplomatic Personnel Stationed Abroad (2009), Regulations of the People's Republic of China Concerning Diplomatic Privileges and Immunities (1986), Regulations of the People's Republic of China Concerning Consular Privileges and Immunities (1990), and the Guideline for Consular Assistance and Protection (2015). When reviewing these statutes and regulations, one can see that they do not really focus on diplomatic security. Instead, they are primarily concerned with diplomatic and consular privileges and immunities in accordance with the 1961 and 1963

Vienna Conventions, and with consular services offered to Chinese citizens and companies.

As a general rule, Chinese diplomatic missions and diplomats expect the host country to provide protection for diplomatic staff and uphold the privileges and immunities enshrined in the Vienna Conventions. However, not all host countries are able to provide the level of protection needed to secure diplomatic facilities and personnel. Even for host states that have the necessary resources to protect foreign diplomats, the level of diplomatic protection provided is still based on an assessment of potential threats. Chinese missions and personnel are typically considered to be low-risk targets and are therefore not accorded the same levels of security as missions that face much greater security risks, such as Israel.[20]

Until recently, when the issue of protection was raised, the emphasis was on mutual respect between Chinese diplomatic missions and the country they were serving in. This emphasis rather than threats to the safety of diplomatic personnel helped facilitate diplomatic relations between China and third countries.[21] Since the recent high-profile assassination of the Russian ambassador to Turkey in 2017 and the killing of the American ambassador in Benghazi in 2012, however, Chinese media coverage has shifted to highlighting the growing dangers that diplomats face in their overseas postings. Moreover, questions have been raised in Chinese media and by Chinese analysts about whether China is sufficiently aware of the threats its diplomatic missions and diplomats face, and whether facilities and personnel are adequately protected.[22]

The Chinese Foreign Ministry has made a number of institutional adjustments since its reform in the early 1980s in the hope of better addressing emerging diplomatic issues such as improving security for its citizens working overseas. To cope with these emerging issues, a new Department of External Security Affairs has been set up within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. A Center for Consular Assistance and Protection has also been established within the Department of Consular Affairs.[23] However, available information suggests these changes are more about responding to the need to protect Chinese businesses and citizens rather than protecting Chinese overseas diplomatic facilities and personnel. Indeed, with China's "going-out" strategy,[24] more and more Chinese companies are setting up businesses abroad and more Chinese citizens are working overseas. Today, Chinese citizens abroad face the second highest number of security threats after US citizens, with annual

consular assistance and protection issues rising to 160,000 cases between 2007 and 2010.[25]

This, in turn, is exerting a significant toll on China's capacity to respond and on the resources available through the relevant departments in the Foreign Ministry. Out of a total of 4,000 staff at the ministry as of 2013, only 150 were consular officers, and there is no law on consular assistance or protection that specifies the scope, responsibilities, resources, and methods to be used.[26] As of 2017, there were over thirty thousand Chinese businesses active in over 160 countries and localities, with a total workforce of over a million expatriates. If one adds to this the number of Chinese students studying overseas and Chinese tourists visiting foreign countries, the number was over 130 million in 2017.[27] As a result, cases requiring consular assistance and protection continue to increase, with 87,000 cases in 2015, 100,000 in 2016, and 70,000 in 2017.[28] Chinese analysts have pointed out the urgency of developing and strengthening mechanisms to protect Chinese interests and the safety of Chinese citizens overseas. Given the ever-growing number of Chinese going abroad and the limited resources/services the government is capable of providing to its expatriate citizens, there are increasing calls for an integrated approach, with the government's consular assistance and protection system taking on the responsibility of coordinating and mobilizing the resources of Chinese enterprises, private security companies, insurance companies, and overseas Chinese communities. Until better mechanisms are developed and more efficient coordination between various stakeholders is established, there will continue to be a gap between the ever-growing demand for protection and the insufficient resources and manpower available.[29]

In 2004, an inter-departmental emergency response coordinating mechanism was set up to deal with the growing challenge of protecting Chinese interests and citizens overseas. It includes the Ministries of Foreign Affairs, Public Security, Commerce, and the military. The mechanism is the first of its kind, and its primary remit is to deal with major overseas emergencies, for example the 2011 evacuation of Chinese citizens from Libya. However, this coordinating mechanism is not a permanent institutional setup responsible for incidents on a regular, long-term basis. Increasingly, the Ministry of Public Security (MPS) has emerged as an important actor in Chinese foreign policy. MPS attachés in Chinese embassies in a number of countries have developed networks of cooperation with local law enforcement agencies, looking after the safety of Chinese tourists and seeking assistance in investigating criminal

acts committed by fugitive Chinese who have sought safe haven overseas.[30] Indeed, resources and personnel constraints place significant limits on the Chinese government in providing consular assistance and protection. For instance, the Libyan evacuation of 35,000 Chinese citizens involved the mobilization of air, sea, and land transportation, incurring a total expenditure of $152 million, averaging $4,343 per person.[31]

A more permanent interagency group consisting of various ministries and the military tasked with handling the security of Chinese diplomatic facilities and personnel has yet to be established. Even so, as mentioned above, coordinating mechanisms do exist but are usually temporary and called upon only in the aftermath of a major incident. This is in sharp contrast to the United States, which has established the Bureau of Diplomatic Security (DS), headed by an assistant secretary, as a permanent organizational unit within the State Department. In 2004, the Chinese government dispatched for the first time armed police units abroad to escort and protect Chinese diplomats when Beijing decided to reopen its embassy in Baghdad.[32] Six officers from an elite special force unit (the 400-strong "Snow Leopard" unit, which is part of the Chinese Armed Police Service) were selected to protect Sun Bigan, at the time a retired diplomat and former ambassador to Iraq (1998–2002) recalled to set up and re-open the Chinese embassy in Baghdad. Before the arrival of the Chinese security guards, Sun and his team had hired Iraqi bodyguards. The team also ordered armored vehicles and procured bulletproof vests for diplomats.[33] Since then, China has sent armed police officers as security guards to its embassies in Afghanistan, Syria, Iraq, Liberia, and Somalia to secure the premises and protect its diplomats.[34] Indeed it should be noted that when the Chinese working group returned to Afghanistan in late 2001 after the initial US-led military operations had ended, there were no security guards to accompany team members even though threats were of concern.[35]

Securing Chinese diplomatic missions has also meant securing diplomatic communications against espionage and cyber hacking. While diplomatic couriers continue to play a critical function in delivering confidential documents to/from Chinese diplomatic missions around the world, in recent years communications security has also become an important issue. This has become a serious matter in the aftermath of revelations that the United States and Australia have reportedly sought to place bugging devices in and spy on Chinese diplomatic facilities in Washington, DC, and Canberra.[36]

A final observation is that when planning new diplomatic facilities, there currently is a preference for their design to reflect traditional Chinese culture and history. This is often at the expense of their physical security. Prioritizing security would include provision for open spaces, fences, thicker walls, and other features that enhance security against attacks.[37] In comparison, the United States is increasingly tilting the design of its diplomatic facilities toward security at the cost of making them less aesthetically appealing, less accessible, and less open to visitors. The so-called Standard Embassy Design (SED) for new diplomatic facilities includes requirements such as co-location (i.e., non-military personnel live in the same compound where they work) and having all new buildings at least a hundred feet away from other facilities. Furthermore, dedicated funds that run into billions of dollars have been appropriated for such purposes.[38]

Major Challenges and Likely Responses

Given the expansion and growing activism of Chinese diplomacy in recent decades, and especially over the past decade, it can be expected that Chinese diplomatic facilities and personnel will face greater security risks as a result of several developments.

First is the continuing expansion of Chinese commercial activities, particularly in countries and regions infested with internal unrest, civil war, or interstate disputes with neighboring countries and where Chinese companies are engaged in activities that carry significant economic stakes.[39] These activities include the hiring of tens of thousands of Chinese workers, who often reside and work in insecure locations. This will result in greater demands for government consular assistance and protection, including hostage negotiation and rescue operations that Chinese consular officers and diplomats may be called upon to organize. Such economic activities could place them in harm's way. For instance, many analysts point out that Beijing's ambitious Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), which seeks to promote connectivity between people, investments, and goods through massive infrastructural projects in many unstable countries, could further expose Chinese citizens and diplomatic personnel to attacks.[40] This is epitomized by the fact that the Pakistani government has, in recent years, strengthened security protection for Chinese companies and citizens working in Pakistan and for the Chinese embassy, consulate, and trade offices. The security of the embassy's premises is now the

responsibility of the Pakistani military, which replaced the local police. This is in line with an overall strengthening of protective measures that Pakistan has introduced to ensure the safe implementation of various projects related to the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC).[41]

Second, by gradually departing from the principle of noninterference, either because of the need to protect Chinese interests or greater expectations from the international community, China is expected to be doing more in providing public goods such as dispatching peacekeeping forces or mediating in interstate conflicts. This, in turn, could result in direct attacks on Chinese diplomatic facilities and personnel. It can be expected that as Beijing becomes more involved in post-conflict reconstruction or peacemaking initiatives, Chinese foreign service personnel will be exposed to greater security risks to a similar extent as their US and UK counterparts.[42] This is a crucial point. A more proactive China engaging in more regional diplomatic affairs will also likely involve its diplomats in difficult and dangerous undertakings, such as securing the release of Chinese citizens held hostage, evacuating Chinese citizens from war-torn locations, and assisting in securing Chinese commercial property in high-threat environments. Chinese positions on major regional issues and its mediating efforts could also elicit anti-China responses and retribution against Chinese diplomats. There is already growing recognition of the risks associated with an engaged foreign policy that has moved beyond the traditional principle of noninterference.[43]

Third, forces such as Tibetan and Uighur independence movements, including ETIM, and international terrorist groups such as ISIS, are increasingly targeting Chinese interests and China's diplomatic missions and personnel. Missions in countries with weak law enforcement capabilities are especially vulnerable.

These growing challenges and security risks to Chinese diplomatic missions and personnel require a corresponding commitment from the government to enhancing security measures. At present, China continues to depend on host countries to provide the necessary security to its embassies, consulates, and diplomats, with the exception of limited high-risk countries where armed Chinese security personnel, drawn from the armed police force, are stationed in Chinese embassies. These deployments are still few in number and pale in comparison to the number of security details that protect US embassies and personnel. There has yet to be specifically defined legislation on diplomatic security in China; nor are there, unlike in the United States,

any dedicated funds for such purposes. Granted, the United States faces far more security threats to its overseas missions. However, Beijing is becoming aware of the security risks faced by its citizens and its diplomatic facilities and personnel abroad. In recent years, the Chinese government has been enhancing security cooperation with governments in high-risk host countries through intelligence sharing, training of security personnel, and the provision of equipment to the latter in order to provide better security for Chinese citizens and Chinese diplomatic missions.[44]

One potential solution to addressing the growing diplomatic security threats could be the development and deployment of private security companies (PSCs), frequently used as diplomatic security providers by countries like the United States and the UK.[45] PSCs are a relatively new development in China.[46] Today there are 4,000 registered companies in China, and one report suggests there may be as many as 5,800. These provide a range of services to companies, banks, and rich Chinese individuals. There are calls for PSCs to extend their security services to overseas Chinese companies and citizens, and to Chinese diplomatic missions. Some have even suggested that Chinese peacekeeping operation units should also rely on such PSCs to provide them with logistic support and services that might include transportation, guards, and communications.[47] Since its internationalization in the early 2000s, China's fledgling private security industry remains tightly controlled by the government. It typically takes an unarmed approach to providing security, and, like its Western counterparts which employ former members of the military, its staff includes many retired People's Liberation Army (PLA) personnel. Moreover, it is growing into a multibillion dollar industry, one that currently employs some 4.3 million people. In January 2010, the Chinese government passed the Regulations on the Administration of Security and Guarding Services, further defining and regulating the activities of Chinese PSCs. More recently, around twenty Chinese private security companies have started to be more actively engaged in overseas assignments.[48] They provide a range of services such as escorts, site safeguards, and personnel protection, especially in countries where significant Chinese business stakes exist and where the environment is insecure or unstable. This is a further reflection of the country's shift in its traditional policy of noninterference. In 2016, there were more than 3,200 employees of Chinese private security companies based abroad. One of the more established Chinese PSCs is HXZA Security Service (华信中安), which has a staff of 12,000, including 150 personnel permanently based

in foreign countries such as Sri Lanka, Egypt, and Djibouti, and provides ship escorting services, including for foreign customers.[49] However, strict gun controls placed on Chinese PSCs mean that their ability to protect their customers in high-risk environments is limited. As a result, some Chinese companies prefer to hire Western firms as the latter are used to carrying firearms.[50]

It is not surprising, then, that there are growing calls for Chinese PSCs to be armed so they will be more effective in carrying out security operations at home and overseas. Han Fangming, deputy chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, points out that Chinese PSCs face three obstacles to effective operations: the ability to obtain passports and visas allowing them to quickly deploy security personnel overseas; the limited availability of former military personnel with combat experience; and an absence of legal permission to bear arms. Han suggests that Chinese PSCs need to recruit more experienced former military personnel, seek assistance from the PLA and the state's public security departments to gain proper training, and engage with foreign counterparts to learn about best practices.[51] Indeed, it is not known whether any Chinese PSC has yet been contracted to protect Chinese diplomatic missions and diplomats, even though this is now common practice in the West.[52]

Conclusion

The paucity of information does not permit an accurate assessment of the history, evolution, and current status of China's diplomatic security. Even so, this conclusion provides some observations, set out below. To begin with, any assessment of China's diplomatic security policy and practices must be placed within the broader context of Beijing's great power aspiration and its increasingly proactive foreign policy. While this chapter does not address theories in any specific terms, a general observation is that some combination of defensive realism and constructivism can be a useful framework for analyzing China's evolving policies and practices. On the one hand, China's pursuit of power and its foreign and security policy approaches remain responsive rather than aggressive, in that Beijing is quite selective in where it wants to be more involved. China has yet to fully address the increasingly salient issue of diplomatic security and the protection of Chinese interests and citizens overseas because the types and frequency of attacks on Chinese diplomatic missions and diplomats are relatively few, at least for now. But this is clearly

changing and therefore it also requires that the Chinese government commit additional resources to diplomatic security as well as consular protection. While there is growing recognition that these are important issues requiring greater attention, there have not yet been definitive signs of a greater commitment of human and financial resources to address these challenges. On the other hand, China, as Iain Johnston has argued, is clearly mimicking other great powers in many of its diplomatic practices, from institution-building to the expansion of its diplomatic involvement in major global and regional issues that require great power attention.[53] Over time, it can be expected that China will follow the path and adopt the "best practices" of other great powers such as the United States and the United Kingdom in developing the institutional infrastructure and the legal framework, and commit the requisite financial resources, to protect its diplomatic missions and diplomats overseas, increasingly active and exposed to risks and dangers as they are.[54]

As previously mentioned, China is starting to expand its diplomatic footprint as a result of increased demand on its consular services. This has come from growing Chinese overseas commercial interests, Chinese citizens working, studying, or touring abroad, and as a result of the country mediating in interstate conflicts or participating in post-conflict reconstruction efforts. At the same time, Chinese diplomatic missions and personnel are now being targeted by terrorist groups opposed to the country's domestic policies and its involvement in some regions of the world.

Beijing has yet to promulgate legislation specifically dedicated to diplomatic security matters. While laws and regulations exist, they primarily address diplomatic and consular privileges and immunities, and focus more on consular assistance and the protection of Chinese entities and citizens overseas rather than the protection of diplomats. Importantly, there are no permanent interagency arrangements designed to handle diplomatic security matters. Unlike the United States, which has permanent arrangements and structures in place to organize and operate its diplomatic security apparatus, arrangements and structures in place in China are typically temporary and reactive in nature. Clearly, this needs to change with new legislation, so that government agencies are made responsible for diplomatic security, and dedicated funds are made available to address long-term strategic and planning issues.

The growth of private security companies in China provides an important means to strengthen diplomatic security. For the moment, though, while

Chinese PSCs provide services to companies and individuals at home and abroad, there is no evidence that suggests they provide security services to Chinese diplomatic missions. One significant constraint on Chinese PSCs is that their staff are unarmed, which raises questions about their capacity to operate in high-risk environments. However, it is unlikely China's gun-control laws will be amended any time soon to allow Chinese PSC personnel to carry firearms. Nor is it likely that Chinese PSCs will blindly emulate established Western PSCs such as G4S, Control Risks, and International SOS, even as they seek to learn from best practices and address existing handicaps in such areas as intelligence gathering, English proficiency of staff, government relations, and other professional services. Moreover, the development of Chinese PSCs would also require legislation from the government, and Beijing's acceptance of a more market-oriented approach to providing security protection to Chinese enterprises and citizens, and to Chinese diplomatic missions.

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3 Diplomatic Security in the United Kingdom

An Informal Approach?

Christopher Kinsey

Introduction

The protection of diplomats in modern times has a long history.[1] While the nature of the threats to diplomats may have changed over the last five centuries, they have certainly not gone away. This is particularly the case for the diplomatic corps of the United Kingdom. We should not be surprised by this, given the country's pivotal role in international politics during the twentieth century. At the height of the Cold War, British diplomats had a global presence on the international stage. Ensuring their security amidst the many insurgencies Britain fought as it withdrew from its colonies was challenging, as was protecting them from the threat of international terrorism in the 1970s. What, then, has changed since the end of the Cold War? Since the end of the Cold War, use of the Royal Military Police (RMP), private security contractors, and local law enforcement agencies in guaranteeing diplomatic security has remained constant, but the intensity and scale of the threats has certainly magnified, thus making the work of UK diplomats more dangerous than in the past. This was exemplified by bomb attacks on the British consulate general and the headquarters of the HSBC bank in Istanbul on September 20, 2003.[2]

This chapter strives to answer three interrelated research questions. Firstly, how does the UK understand and act upon risks to the security of its diplomats abroad? Secondly, what underlies the evolution of UK diplomatic

security policies? Thirdly, to what extent are UK security arrangements perceived to be effective? Finally, the chapter is divided into three sections and a conclusion. The first section gives a historical perspective on diplomatic security, focusing on threats to UK diplomats and how these were managed. The second section is a brief overview of the Foreign and Commonwealth Office's (FCO) institutional arrangements underpinning diplomatic security activities. This section focuses on the changes that diplomatic security has undergone since the end of the Cold War by examining how diplomatic missions operate in dangerous parts of the world. The third section is concerned with security in the post–Cold War era, with an emphasis on the nature of the threats now facing UK diplomats. The concluding section pulls together the empirical data to summarize the security challenges UK diplomatic missions face today and the issues shaping their existing security arrangements.

The Kidnapping of Diplomats during the Cold War

The kidnapping, ransom, and murder of diplomats are not new.[3] During the late 1960s and early 1970s, diplomatic staff faced physical threats to their well-being and safety from revolutionary terrorists of various types.[4] Such groups were often "motivated by the possibility of ransom money or the freeing of political prisoners and by the desire to embarrass and harass the government in power, to strain its diplomatic relations with other states, and/or to create an atmosphere of instability and terror."[5] In parts of Latin America, diplomats were often the target of left-wing guerrilla groups, though this was not the only region where diplomats faced the risk of kidnapping and murder. Europe also experienced the menace of political terrorism, though often the kidnap victims were politicians or industrialists.[6] In the Middle East, the Lebanese civil war posed another significant threat to diplomats, especially given the general appetite for kidnapping in the country at the time. Between 1982 and 1992, the Lebanon hostage crisis saw the systematic kidnapping of dozens of foreigners by various factions within Hezbollah.[7] Nor did diplomats serving in Africa escape the threat of kidnap and murder. In March 1973, the US ambassador Cleo Noel and chargé d'affaires George Curt Moore were taken hostage in the Saudi embassy in Khartoum, and were later executed by the Palestinian terrorist group Black September. This attack led to the closure of the US embassy in Kampala, as it was felt that President Idi Amin "would not oppose similar international terror operations in Uganda."[8]

While British diplomats did not experiencing the same intensity of terrorist attacks as their US counterparts,[9] they still faced threats. In January 1971, Britain's ambassador to Uruguay, Geoffrey Jackson, was kidnapped on his way to work.[10] According to Caroline Moorehead, "Jackson had known it was coming. He had watched the new guerrilla tactic stealing southward and suspected a couple of recent curious telephone calls . . . as a prelude to kidnapping"; Jackson spent 244 days in captivity.[11] Even though the majority of diplomatic kidnappings during this period took place in the politically troubled environment of Latin America, North America also had its own terrorists to deal with. In October 1970 James Cross, British trade commissioner in Quebec, and Pierre Laporte, Quebec's labor minister, were abducted by the Front de Libération du Québec (FLQ).[12] Laporte was later murdered by his captors.[13]

According to Robert Moss, during this period urban guerrilla groups "[were] largely self-reliant as far as weapons and supplies are concerned."[14] He points out that "the most important form of exchange is probably the borrowing of ideas."[15] Proof of this is "the wildfire spread of diplomatic kidnapping as a technique for extorting political concessions since the Brazilian government agreed to release fifteen prisoners in return for the American ambassador in 1969."[16]

Because some governments were so ineffective at guaranteeing the security of diplomats, they had little option other than negotiate and offer concessions to kidnappers for the release of an envoy.[17] This certainly appears to be the case with the Uruguayan government, which was responsible for Jackson's security. The UK, on the other hand, took the path of no concessions. This was probably a result of the Dawson's Field incident in Jordan.[18] According to Eric Morris and Alan Hoe, the incident "gave the British government the opportunity to stand absolutely firm in the face of other similar release demands and so established such a reputation for inflexibility in the face of terrorism."[19]

Whatever the approach toward political kidnapping during the 1970s, no South American government could guarantee the security of every diplomat on its soil. Kidnapping was not the only threat facing British diplomats. On April 24, 1975, a bomb was detonated outside the British embassy in Buenos Aires. The bomb, according to the ambassador, was a patriotic reminder that no progress had been made on the issue of sovereignty over the Falkland Islands. It was an act of terror similar to the 2003 bombing of the British consulate in Istanbul.[20]

The proliferation of threats against diplomatic posts and personnel resulted in foreign governments becoming more involved in ensuring the security of their diplomats. In the case of the British government, two approaches were available. In the first instance, the FCO could call upon the Ministry of Defence (MoD) for additional security support. As far back as 1966, members of the Special Air Service (SAS) were deployed as bodyguards to protect FCO officials.[21] As Richard Keightley points out, "this gave the SAS a foot in the FCO door and a Close Protection Cell was formed within the Counter Revolutionary Warfare Wing at Hereford to provide specific 'bodyguard' training."[22] In the second instance, the FCO could turn to the market. In 1975 it employed the private security company (PSC) Keeni Meenie Services (KMS). The company comprised mainly ex-SAS soldiers, employed to protect ambassadors who were at particular risk of political kidnapping.[23] Following the assassination of Airey Neave MP by the Provisional Irish Republican Army (PIRA), Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher took the decision to no longer outsource diplomatic security.[24] Instead, the RMP took on the role. Due to its considerable experience providing escort capabilities both outside and within war zones, the RMP became the ideal choice to take over diplomatic protection from such PSCs as KMS.[25] Consequently, the RMP Close Protection (CP) unit replaced KMS in Lebanon and Uganda as the principal agency mandated to protect the respective ambassadors.[26]

By the 1980s, the RMP had started to forge a close working relationship with the FCO to protect its ambassadors and other senior diplomats working in dangerous parts of the world.[27] It was its professionalism and ability to integrate with embassy staff that ultimately secured the future of the RMP as a provider of close protection for the FCO.[28] During this period, the RMP also established itself as the lead agency for close protection in the British military. In Northern Ireland, for instance, the RMP deployed bodyguards and escorts to senior military officers, taking over from the SAS.[29] However, this did not mark the end for the SAS in FCO CP operations. The SAS regiment continued to give training support to the RMP CP units and also participated in joint operations with them.

The threat from politically inspired international terrorism continued throughout the 1980s, even though there was a shift away from government officials toward Western businessmen as victims.[30] Of particular concern for Western governments was the rise of Islamist terrorism, which soon became *the* vehicle for state-sponsored terrorism, with Iran,

Libya, and Syria using this high-value, low-risk strategy to target Western interests.[31]

The threat to the diplomatic community, however, did not come only from terrorism. In Uganda, the breakdown of law and order after the fall of Idi Amin saw diplomats targeted by rogue government soldiers and rebels. Uganda was not the only country where the rule of law collapsed. This situation posed a different type of challenge when protecting ambassadors. Hence, UK diplomatic security contributed directly to maintaining a British diplomatic presence in places that were deemed vital to UK interests. It also led to the introduction of a quality assurance process to ensure UK diplomatic security was maintained at the exceptionally high standard that had come to characterize UK CP operations around the world.[32] This remained the situation for UK diplomatic security until the end of the Cold War.

The Contemporary Institutional Arrangements Underpinning UK Diplomatic Security

Today, the UK has 270 diplomatic offices in 160 countries. It employees around 14,000 staff, of whom about a third are UK-based civil servants; the remaining two-thirds are local employees working at embassies, high commissions, and consulates.[33] The role of UK diplomatic missions can be divided into three areas: prosperity, security, and consular.[34] These areas are then broken down into a range of activities that are part of the FCO's multilayered business plan. Diplomatic activity can include promoting closer links with foreign governments, helping British citizens in distress, and supporting UK businesses working in the country.

Much of this activity is undertaken in countries where the physical threat to embassy staff is minimal.[35] However, this is not the case everywhere. In countries where civil wars are ongoing,[36] the physical threat to FCO staff is considerably higher. This is usually because the combatants on both sides have chosen to target foreign diplomats as a way of making a political statement to Her Majesty's government or to the wider international community. Attacking diplomatic personnel may also help to gain support from local groups opposed to the presence of foreigners in their country. The nature of the threat varies, but will most likely involve attempts at assassination, murder, or kidnapping. Coping with threats is always very challenging for home and third-country governments,[37] often involving considerable effort on the

part of embassy staff to implement/strengthen security procedures to deter such threats.

A discussion of FCO security procedures to protect missions staff is to be found below.[38] The sensitivity surrounding the subject means that these procedures can only be discussed in general terms. As the following reply to a freedom of information request issued by the author noted, "the FCO's policies in this security field are neither public, nor open. Due to the level of operational and technical detail included in much of [the FCO's] more sensitive guidance, public release would potentially compromise the very security of [its] staff and information that it is designed to maintain. Even apparently less sensitive information might indicate details which could be of potential advantage to an attacker."[39] Consequently, the chapter will only be able to give a broad outline of the institutional arrangements that support the FCO's security procedures and where responsibilities lie regarding those procedures.

At the ministerial level, overall responsibility for ensuring the physical security of overseas missions lies with the FCO Board.[40] The role of the board is to provide corporate leadership in delivering the policies and services decided by ministers. The board is made up of twelve members that include senior civil servants and three independent non-executive directors. The board regularly assesses the threats diplomatic missions face. To help guide the board, the FCO has in place a comprehensive set of departmental security policies that meet or exceed the Cabinet Security Policy Framework.[41] In fact, they are drawn from, and describe, the practical implementation of the principles defined in the Cabinet Office's Security Policy Framework detailed in "Understanding the Security Policy Framework."[42] Providing support to the board is the Audit and Risk (ARC) Sub-committee, which is responsible for reviewing the work of the Internal Audit Committee and the National Audit Office. It also provides advice on the adequacy of FCO risk management, governance, and internal control.[43] With respect to risk, the ARC "review[s] the FCO Operational Risk Register on a quarterly basis, prior to the top operational (and strategic) risks being escalated to the FCO Board."[44]

Regarding the protection of embassies, the head of mission has overall responsibility for security. The day-to-day oversight of security arrangements is delegated to a senior member of staff, usually the deputy head of mission. The FCO also has a specialist cadre of security experts—many of whom have a military background—who can be called upon to give security advice to

mission staff.[45] Security is at the center of embassy operations, which cannot function without it.

Responsibility for protecting UK diplomats and their premises normally resides with the local authorities. As mentioned above, however, where the threat level is high close protection is usually provided through the RMP. PSCs are also contracted to provide close protection in such circumstances if more manpower is required.[46] Guards providing static security may be employed locally, or the embassy may use former Gurkha soldiers recruited through a PSC that is contracted to guard the embassy facilities. Usually the PSC will provide close protection and static protection as a single security package.[47] Finally, some embassies also employ a contracted security manager, usually chosen from among the personnel working within the private security industry. This person, who is appointed by the Department for Estates and Security in Whitehall, reports to the post security officer as advisor and implementer of policy.[48] While the department is based in London, it has responsibility for all FCO premises worldwide.

The importance placed on security for the smooth running of the embassy means protective polices are kept under constant review. Indeed, in some cases security reviews may take place on a daily basis.[49] All posts have security committees that monitor risks to British interests in the country. Such threats will be assessed in respect of the practical security arrangements for both the embassy and wider British interests.[50] At the same time, "the Cabinet Office operates a system of response giving departments a broad indication of the level of protective security readiness required at any one time," while the FCO will respond to this advice accordingly.[51]

Furthermore, all missions are in direct communication with London at all times. This is particularly important if a mission is to close because the country within which it is situated faces an unacceptably high level of threat. The decision to close is never taken lightly because of the political implications attached to it; therefore such decisions require ministerial permission. In the event of a change to the security environment in a country, a report would go to the appropriate department in London, after which a senior official would consult with ministers.[52] This does not mean ministers cannot speak to ambassadors, but the practice is for missions to feed information into the FCO in London. This is usually done using telegrams, which are then copied to all the other UK missions and directly to the ministerial offices.[53]

Three final areas are worth mentioning briefly here with respect to the institutional arrangements that underpin mission security. They are interagency support, budgetary constraints, and the role of the FCO's Department for Estates and Security. Interagency cooperation between different government departments is important to a range of security issues, including making sure that the security picture in a country is as complete as possible so the FCO is not caught out by a terrorist attack or another type of threat. Here, the Joint Terrorism Analysis Centre (JTAC) and the Centre for the Protection of National Infrastructure (CPNI) play a crucial role.[54] Cooperation also extends to EU member states that frequently share the same security threats, and that regularly work in close collaboration with the UK government to combat them. Another important aspect of the FCO's institutional security arrangements is the role of the Department for Estates and Security. One of the department's core responsibilities is to consider all security issues at the beginning, during, and at the end of the process of either opening or closing a mission.[55] The third area is resource and budgetary allocations for diplomatic security. What drives resource and budget allocation is risk assessment, that is, ensuring staff are safe. However, this does not mean access to unlimited resources. As with other government departments, the FCO experienced financial cuts of the same order in the wake of the 2008 financial crisis. Consequently, what the FCO tends to do is to use its resources flexibly. This means moving more resources to missions where the threat to staff is deemed higher.

The Role of UK Diplomatic Security in the New Global Security Landscape

A discussion of the need to protect UK diplomats from physical threats in the post–Cold War international environment should begin with appraising the nature of the geopolitical landscape to properly understand how diplomatic security has adapted to the changed security environment. The threat posed by terrorism in the 1960s and 1970s was different than the threat terrorists pose today.[56] During the Cold War, host countries frequently responded to terrorist threats with a heavy-handed approach which often ensured the security of their diplomats.[57] Governments in the developing world could act in this way because the Cold War superpowers were often prepared to tolerate such behavior in return for political support.[58] This changed with the fall of the Iron Curtain. With the superpowers withdrawing their financial and

military support from many parts of the world, states such as Somalia started to collapse. This created ideal conditions for terrorists and guerrilla groups to release a new wave of violence on the international stage.

By the 1990s, diplomats were facing a new set of global threats from previously rag-tag groups that had by then evolved into sophisticated, transnational organizations.[59] Benefiting from the rapidly changing security landscape, terrorism soon transformed itself both regionally and functionally.[60] Some old threats, such as the Irish Republican Army (IRA), still existed, but had been joined by new, transnational organizations able to access new ideas, resources, and fresh opportunities.[61] Today, terrorism is no longer just about the pursuit of political goals, but also about the pursuit of economic, ethnic, and religious ends.[62] One of the consequences of this change is that unarmed civilians, including foreign aid workers, diplomats, and businesspeople, are now frequent targets of terrorists.[63] For foreigners, in particular, this normally means increasing their level of protection beyond what they might normally have expected from their organization, government, or company. For UK diplomats, working in this environments can be extremely challenging especially where the rule of law has broken down and basic functions associated with public security (such as policing) no longer exist. Coping with this environment is especially difficult when the threat may come from a multitude of different actors. Indeed, it is not only terrorists that pose a threat to diplomats, but also other non-state actors, such as international criminal gangs and militias.[64] While security policies may lay down contingency plans and immediate action (IA) drills that detail how diplomats should react in the event of a threat from such a group, the nebulous nature such threats might take often makes it extremely challenging for the security policy to cover every possible eventuality.

Diplomats, therefore, also rely upon what one CP officer has called the "informal system."[65] Informal in this context means making judgments based upon a combination of personal contacts and previous experience in performing diplomatic security tasks. It also entails relying on local knowledge and networks as well as the assessments from the JTAC, and the CPNI.[66] This allows security staff access to information that would not usually be available, or if it is, that takes a long time to find its way to the right people. Such delay can be detrimental to security operations. Informal approaches can play a crucial role in gaining valuable insight into security situations on the ground and help security staff respond to fast-developing security situations where

formal channels may take too long. This is especially valuable if the information is coming from a trusted source that may not be available through formal channels. The informal approach can also be used to complement more formal approaches to diplomatic security, thus allowing government staff to build up a larger and more detailed picture about what is happening on the ground.

In sum, an informal approach is about relying on judgment more than anything else, whereas contingency plans and IA drills are the outcome of a top-down approach to security originating from the government level. Contingency plans and IA drills are procedures laid down in policy documents, to be followed in the event of a potential threat being identified or actually materializing. These two elements are mutually supporting, although mistakes do still happen. On June 8, 2000, Brigadier Stephen Saunders was shot dead by a Greek terrorist organization—November 17—while on his way to work at the British embassy in Athens. As Hugo Rosemont argues,

> This terrible incident and subsequent investigation was extremely significant in modern UK diplomatic security terms, both in its own right but also in view of the concerns it raised in respect of the safety of the upcoming 2004 Olympic Games in Athens. Indeed, such was the strong and effective level of UK-Greek (and no doubt other international) police cooperation in response to the murder that N17 was effectively dismantled as a threat to the Games—and swiftly so. In addition to this development, the UK famously chaired the seven nation Security Advisory Group for the 2004 Games.[67]

This murder was not the only terrorist attack against British diplomats in recent years. On September 20, 2003, a car bomb exploded just inside the gates of the British consulate general in Istanbul, while another explosion rocked the HSBC bank's headquarters in the city.[68] The British consulate in Istanbul (Pera House) is located in the built up area of Beyoğlu in the center of Istanbul (European side), arguably presenting some inherent vulnerabilities.[69] The attacks against these two British targets were carried out by the Great Eastern Islamic Raiders Front, or IBDA-C as it is more commonly known, a group that is thought to have links to al-Qaeda.[70] The two explosions killed twenty-seven people, including the consul general, Roger Short. After the attack, the FCO quickly proceeded to introduce improvements in its security arrangements at its posts.[71] The foreign secretary also announced an "independent internal review to look into the balance between security and the operational effectiveness in the FCO's work overseas."[72]

The review was carried out by Stuart Jack, CVO, from the diplomatic service. The review's main conclusion was that "while the FCO's existing security strategy does not need a fundamental overhaul, there is more that could be done to enhance security worldwide."[73] Other conclusions were that "risk management was fundamental in striking a balance between security and operational effectiveness, the . . . need to devote more resources to security [and] the FCO should not withdraw into 'fortresses' or 'bunkers.'"[74] This last point is important, as it was felt by the Foreign Affairs Committee that turning posts into fortresses would have a negative impact on the UK's image overseas. It was also believed that the operational effectiveness of posts would suffer if contact with the public was limited. In commenting on the outcome of the review to the Foreign Affairs Committee, Sir Michael Jay stressed that "we cannot eliminate all risk in office but that we can try and manage that risk sensibly."[75] Effectively, he was pointing out that there was an important balance to strike between operational effectiveness and security. The Foreign Affairs Committee report, however, also remarked that, as a consequence of the attack in Istanbul, the FCO should re-prioritize its estate budget and expect over the next few years that as much as 70 percent of its investment will be security-driven.[76]

More recently, the FCO closed its consulate in Benghazi during the Libyan civil war when the security situation started to deteriorate, while the United States did not until it was too late. It is hard to say why the two foreign services responded differently to the crisis. Such different reactions, however, are likely to have something to do with the fact that at the time each consulate faced different risks, had different risk assessment systems in place, operated from different premises, and had different ways of working.[77] It is certainly the case with the FCO that in circumstances where the risk increases or changes, financial and material resources can be made available for additional security if necessary.[78] In this respect, the FCO is able to move its resources to where they are most needed, which demonstrates how flexible it is regarding the way it deploys them. This is important because, as the Arab Spring showed, violence can spread very quickly where the political environment is fluid. In order to respond effectively, diplomatic missions need to be able to call on financial and material resources at very short notice. Where security systems do not allow for this, diplomats are at greater risk from attack.

Responding to threats, however, is not just about making financial and material resources available. The human factor also needs to be taken into

account. Isolating embassies on the edge of cities, and then turning them into bunkers, not only make diplomats less accessible, but increase the serious risk of threat displacement in that embassies which do not withdraw into "bunkers" might be seen as easier targets than those that do.[79] Indeed, one of the terrorists involved in the attacks against the British consulate in Istanbul reportedly confessed that his group initially intended to blow up the nearby US consulate, but its levels of security forced them to select another, softer, target (see the chapter by Stocking in this volume).

The idea that diplomats can insulate themselves from the local environment by ensuring everything needed for daily living is provided within the confines of the embassy is nothing new, nor it is only an American phenomenon. As Berridge points out, "an early and famous variation on this theme was the Legation Quarter in Peking, fortified after the quelling of the Boxer uprising in 1900, which had led the quarter's prolonged siege."[80]

The obvious question that leads on from this is: How do UK diplomats view their security arrangements in countries where the threat is higher than would usually be the case? UK diplomats understand they face threats to their well-being, and they know that security is an essential part of the job even though they may complain that it constrains them in performing their duties. Those who have dealt with security issues understand the gravity of the situation when things go wrong.[81] As one diplomat explained, "all you need to do is to show someone slides of the devastation that happened in Istanbul for people to understand the importance of security."[82] The FCO also sends its people on kidnap- and ransom-awareness courses before they are sent on a posting. While some see security procedures as a constraint on their role as a diplomat, those who have been responsible for the security of their colleagues know it is something you must constantly remind people of, and why those procedures are there: to protect all mission personnel.[83] According to one government official, however, this does not seem to have made it any more difficult to deploy diplomatic personnel to dangerous locations. As long as staff are in the right job band with the right skill sets for the mission, then they can apply for overseas service.[84] In this respect, the FCO is different from foreign ministries where people are seconded to a certain country. Within the FCO, staff put themselves forward, which leaves high-risk posts to those who enjoy working in a challenging environment.

Conclusion

This chapter has briefly examined the FCO's institutional arrangements that support diplomatic security activities, looking at UK diplomatic security both during and after the Cold War. Furthermore, it set out to answer three interrelated research questions outlined in the introduction. From the data gathered in this chapter, it is clear that risk assessment is critical to the conduct of diplomatic security, and that it extends to all UK interests in a country, not just those linked to the embassy. Risk assessment is the focus of all the FCO's institutional arrangements that underpin diplomatic security activities. What this means in reality is that security is at the center of all embassy operations, since without security embassy staff cannot function effectively. While the security arrangements in place to protect UK embassies and staff have not fundamentally changed over the past five decades, the methods used have improved significantly. This improvement has been necessary in order to respond to a multitude of threats that emerged in the post–Cold War era. For example, during the Cold War the use of private security contractors to protect ambassadors was rare. Today, contractors are part of the furniture for UK embassies in the most dangerous parts of the world. They perform important security activities without which these embassies would probably have to close. In the RMP, the UK has an under-command body capable of providing a gold standard of security consistent with its organizational preferences. This unit, however, is too small to meet all of the FCO's security/CP requirements globally. As a result, the UK is displaying an increased propensity to outsource armed security, even for very senior members of its overseas missions. This brings the UK model more into line with US Department of State practice. In Afghanistan, for instance, private security contractors provide armed diplomatic protection to resident FCO staff and to visiting UK officials. Due to the limited number of RMP personnel available, the protection of less-senior personnel is also outsourced to PSCs.[85] An overall contraction in the size of the RMP CP unit means it is used exceptionally rather than routinely, being reserved for short-notice deployments, advisories, and for providing CP to UK VIPs visiting high-threat environments where other arrangements are either impracticable or unavailable.

As this chapter offers only a limited probe into the institutional arrangements for UK diplomatic security, more research is needed to expand our knowledge of UK diplomatic security arrangements. Future research could,

for example, investigate the consequences of the withdrawal of diplomatic personnel into fortress-like embassies. This phenomenon is little known among scholars, and may have serious implications for foreign policy and security arrangements at embassies. The use of PSCs to provide UK embassy security in place of UK military personnel also deserves further analysis. At the moment, private security companies do perform some security functions, but we know very little about their performance and whether it places UK diplomats at greater risk than would be the case if the military guaranteed embassy security.

Notes

1. The protection of diplomats during the rise of modern diplomacy is, in part, linked to the persisting view of diplomats as no more than licensed spies and therefore they or those who carried diplomatic correspondence could be attacked in an effort to intercept and read them. See M.S. Anderson, *The Rise of Modern Diplomacy, 1450–1919* (London: Longman, 1993), 21.

2. For a brief account of the incident, see Select Committee on Foreign Affairs Eighth Report, September 23, 2004, www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm200304/cmselect/cmfaff/745/74508.htm (accessed March 24, 2014).

3. See Caroline Moorehead, *Fortune's Hostage: Kidnapping in the World Today* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1980), 95–115; Richard Clutterbuck, *Kidnap, Hijack and Extortion* (London: Macmillan, 1987), 14–19.

4. For a detailed list of diplomatic kidnappings, locations, and embassy seizures, see Clutterbuck, *Kidnap, Hijack and Extortion*, 17–19, and Carol Edler Baumann, *The Diplomatic Kidnappings: The Revolutionary Tactic of Urban Terrorism* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1973), 167.

5. Baumann, *The Diplomatic Kidnappings*, 164.

6. Moorehead, *Fortune's Hostage*, 133–67

7. For an account of the Western hostage crisis in Lebanon, see Magnus Ranstorp, *Hizb'allah in Lebanon: The Politics of the Western Hostage Crisis* (London: Macmillan, 1997).

8. Joseph G. Sullivan, *Embassies Under Siege* (London: Brassey's, 1995), 7.

9. For a detailed account of the terrorist threats faced by United States diplomats, see ibid.

10. Eric Morris and Alan Hoe, *Terrorism: Threat and Response* (London: Macmillan, 1987), 66.

11. Moorehead, *Fortune's Hostage*, 108.

12. Ibid., 195.

13. Baumann, *The Diplomatic Kidnappings*, 111.

14. Robert Moss, *Urban Guerrillas* (London: Temple Smith, 1972), 244–45.

15. Ibid.

16. Ibid.

17. Austria, Haiti, and Bolivia all made concessions to political terrorists in the early seventies. Moorehead, *Fortune's Hostage*, 200.

18. "On 6th September 1970 Palestinian hijackers took control of two aircrafts in European airspace and flew them to Dawson's Field in Jordan." Morris and Hoe, *Terrorism*, 131.

19. Ibid.

20. Foreign & Commonwealth File 7/2760, Explosion, HM Embassy Buenos Aires, Confidential, notes 1 and 5.

21. Richard Keightley, *Deter, Suppress, Extract!* (Warwick, UK: Helion, 2015), 106.

22. Ibid.

23. Ibid.

24. Ibid.

25. Ibid., 107.

26. FCO 93/2447, "The British Embassy in the Lebanon," Confidential, 1980; FCO 31/2942 "Country Assessment Paper and Inspection of Uganda," Confidential, 1980.

27. For a detailed discussion on the nature of the working relationship between the RMP and the FCO, see Eugenio Cusumano and Christopher Kinsey, "Bureaucratic Interests and the Outsourcing of Security: The Privatization of Diplomatic Protection in the United States and the United Kingdom," *Armed Forces & Society* 41, no. 4 (2015): 591–615; Eugenio Cusumano, "Diplomatic Security for Hire: The Causes and Implications of Outsourcing Embassy Protection" *Hague Journal of Diplomacy* 12, no. 1 (2016): 1–29.

28. Keightley, *Deter, Suppress, Extract!*, 116.

29. Ibid., preface.

30. Clutterbuck, *Kidnap, Hijack and Extortion*, 25.

31. Morris and Hoe, *Terrorism*, 114–15.

32. Keightley, *Deter, Suppress, Extract!*, 153–54.

33. See "Working for FCO," Foreign and Commonwealth Office, https://www.gov.uk/government/organisations/foreign-commonwealth-office/about/recruitment (accessed October 30, 2013).

34. Interview with government official at the Joint Services Command and Staff College, March 17, 2014.

35. When a threat is identified, the embassy gives the same advice to British travelers and businessmen and women as it gives to its staff, usually through the FCO travel advice website. This way it cannot be accused of double standards. Interview with government official, March 17, 2014.

36. For a list of countries where the Foreign and Commonwealth Office has a presence, see https://www.gov.uk/government/world/organisations (accessed October 30, 2013).

37. Home government refers to the diplomats' own government and the third-country government is the receiving government of the diplomats.

38. Members of the FCO often refer to their overseas operations as missions.

39. Foreign and Commonwealth Office, Freedom of Information Request Reference: 1038–13, February 7, 2014.

40. See Foreign and Commonwealth Office, *Resource Accounts 2009–10* (London: Stationery Office, June 30, 2010), HC 74, 7.

41. Ibid., 22. For details about the UK government's security policy framework, see Cabinet Office, *HMG Security Policy Framework*, October 2013, version 11.0, https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/security-policy-framework (accessed December 9, 2013).

42. Foreign and Commonwealth Office, Freedom of Information Request Reference: 1038–13, February 7, 2014.

43. Cabinet Office, *HMG Security Policy Framework*, 8.

44. Ibid., 10.

45. Interview with government official, March 17, 2014.

46. Cusumano and Kinsey, "Bureaucratic Interests and the Outsourcing of Security," 14–15.

47. Ibid.

48. Interview with security contractor, July 16, 2016.

49. Interview with government official, March 17, 2014.

50. Ibid.

51. Cabinet Office, *HMG Security Policy Framework*, 40.

52. Interview with government official, March 17, 2014.

53. Ibid.

54. The Joint Terrorism Analysis Centre is an intelligence organization closely connected to the UK Security Service that provides advice/information to the UK government and companies working within the Critical National Infrastructure on terrorist threats. The Centre for the Protection of National Infrastructure is the UK government authority that gives protective security advice to the business community and organizations across the national infrastructure.

55. Interview with government official, March 17, 2014. The same point is also made in the government's security policy framework. See Cabinet Office, *HMG Security Policy Framework*, paragraph 53.

56. For a detailed discussion on terrorism and global insurgency, see Robert J. Bunker, ed., *Networks, Terrorism and Global Insurgency* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2005).

57. As Clutterbuck notes, no terrorist attacks occurred against foreign diplomats in Eastern Europe from January 1968 to 1981. Clutterbuck, *Kidnap, Hijack and Extortion*, 18.

58. Mark Duffield, "Globalization, Transborder Trade, and War Economies," in Mats Berdal and David M. Malone, eds., *Greed and Grievance: Economic Agendas in Civil Wars* (London: Lynne Rienner, 2000), 73.

59. Rohan Gunaratna, *The Changing Face of Terrorism* (Singapore: Marshall Cavendish International, 2004), 1.

60. Ibid.

61. Ibid.

62. Duffield, "Globalization, Transborder Trade, and War Economies," 73; Mary Kaldor, *New and Old Wars* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2007).

63. David Keen identifies two forms of economic violence: "top-down," which is instigated by political elites and entrepreneurs; and "bottom-up," where the instigators are "ordinary" people, either civilians or common soldiers. Both groups represent a real risk to the security of UK diplomats working in their country. See David Keen, *The Economic Functions of Violence in Civil Wars* (London: International Institute for Strategic Studies, 1998).

64. UK diplomats face different types of threats depending on which country they are working in. For example, there are countries where the risk from crime is higher than the risk of espionage. Interview with government official, March 17, 2014.

65. Email communication with former close protection officer, January 29, 2014.

66. Ibid.; Cabinet Office, *HMG Security Policy Framework*, 40.

67. Email communication with Rosemont, June 18, 2014. Rosemont is an independent security policy analyst and adviser. From 2008 to 2012 he served as policy adviser (security and resilience) to the UK aerospace, defense, and security industries. Previously, he served as a member of the Home Office's Olympic and Paralympic Industry Advisory Group and was a security executive to both the winning London 2012 Olympic bid team and the London 2012 Organizing Committee.

68. House of Commons, Foreign Affairs, Eighth Report of Session 2003–2004, paragraph 52.

69. By contrast, the US government chose (actually before 9/11) to relocate its own consulate in Istanbul away from this area and to the northern suburbs of the city.

70. See David O'Byrne, "'Al-Qaeda Links' to Istanbul Attack," *BBC News*, July 9, 2008, http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/7498772.stm (accessed April 3, 2014).

71. These included measures such as anti-shatter film on windows, strengthening perimeter security, and in some embassies installing bullet-proof and bomb-blast windows. House of Commons, Foreign Affairs, Eighth Report of Session 2003–2004, paragraph 57.

72. Ibid.

73. Ibid.

74. Ibid.

75. Ibid.

76. At the time of the Jack Report, the FCO spending on security was approximately £50–£60 million a year. It also calculated that to implement fully the security changes on estates, including moving the location in some circumstances, would cost a further £60 million over a three- to four-year period, resulting in a final figure of approximately £120 million. Ibid.

77. Interview with government official, March 17, 2014.

78. Ibid.

79. This was one of the major conclusions in the House of Commons, Foreign Affairs, Eighth Report of Session 2003–2004, paragraph 58.

80. G. R. Berridge, *Embassies in Armed Conflict* (London: Continuum, 2012), 168.

81. Interview with government official, March 17, 2014.

82. Ibid.

83. Ibid.

84. Ibid.

85. Cusumano and Kinsey, "Bureaucratic Interests and the Outsourcing of Security," 17–18.

4 A Policy in Progress

France's Diplomatic Security

Jean Joana

Introduction

On January 1, 2017, a decree of the French government transformed the Sub-Directorate for Diplomatic Security into a full-fledged directorate of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs under the name of Directorate for Diplomatic Security.[1] The creation of this new directorate was the result of a process that began in 2007 with the establishment, for the first time in the history of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, of a specialized service exclusively dedicated to French diplomatic facilities and personnel abroad. The development of this service is obviously intended to deal with the growing threats facing French diplomats abroad. Like other Western countries, France now faces a serious threat of terrorist attacks.

In order to provide a comprehensive overview of French diplomatic security, this chapter seeks to answer the following research questions: How was the decision to create a new Directorate for Diplomatic Security taken, and how does it fit into the broader framework of French foreign policy? Historians and political scientists have often emphasized the ambitious nature of French foreign policy since the beginning of the Fifth Republic in 1958.[2] It is interesting to inquire, in this context, to what extent a politics of "grandeur" influenced how diplomatic security has been understood and enforced.[3]

The chapter begins with a presentation of the general characteristics of France's diplomatic network. In the second section, it examines the conditions in which the challenge of diplomatic security emerged beginning in

2007. Finally, it considers the new challenges confronting French diplomatic security today.

Hereafter, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs will be referred to either as MAE, by its French initials, or Quai d'Orsay, after the name of its headquarters in Paris.

The Third Largest Worldwide Diplomatic Network

France possesses the world's third largest diplomatic network, second only to the United States and China. In 2014, this network included 163 embassies, 16 permanent representations to multilateral organizations, 92 consulates general or consulates, and 135 consular sections.[4] Moreover, the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs operates a vast network of French cultural departments and establishments abroad, including 96 Instituts Français (French cultural institutes abroad) and 445 Alliances Françaises. Countries in which France does not have diplomatic representation are rare. In 2014, the MAE employed just under fifteen thousand people, including three thousand tenured and open-ended contractual agents abroad. In 1913, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs adopted the principle of appointment by competitive examination for recruiting its agents. From that year, the only exceptions concerned troubled political times, such as Liberation in 1945. French ambassadors are now mainly drawn from the *corps diplomatique*. In 2010, only fourteen of them were not in this category, including seven who were not even civil servants.[5]

The MAE considers the density and the worldwide scope of its diplomatic network as a crucial element of the international presence that France claims for itself. Similarly, the wide range of the cultural network is presented as being a distinctive feature of the French approach to diplomacy.[6] Even so, there exist large differences between the most important embassies—e.g., the French embassy in Washington has a staff of over four hundred—and the smaller missions where only three or four people are employed. The average French mission employs forty people, including locally recruited staff.[7]

The French diplomatic network has evolved throughout the twentieth century, in line with the transformation of the international order. In 1914, it included only ten embassies and thirty-two legations. Just before World War II, it increased to fifty-three missions and a hundred and fifty-five consulates. In 1961, following decolonization, it expanded to ninety-four embassies, five legations, seventy consulates general, and a hundred and ten consulates. After

the Cold War, it increased again, as France established diplomatic missions in the states emerging from the dissolution of the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia. At the beginning of the 2000s, the French diplomatic network faced criticism of its unbalanced distribution of missions throughout the world. For instance, in 2002, 22 percent of its agents working abroad were assigned to Europe, 24 percent to sub-Saharan Africa, and 15 percent to North Africa and the Middle East. Only 16 percent and 15 percent respectively were assigned to America (North and South) and Asia-Oceania.

From the 1990s onward, French diplomacy faced two kinds of critiques. The first concerns the functioning of the MAE as a public bureaucracy. Some aspects of diplomatic activity or diplomatic services were held to be inefficient and too costly. In 1994, Minister of Foreign Affairs Alain Juppé commissioned a report on the functioning of the MAE. Prepared by a commission chaired by a respected senior civil servant, Jacques Picq,[8] the report calls for a "cultural revolution" in the diplomatic corps. The second criticism of French diplomatic activity in the 1990s relates to international issues. For many observers, the diplomatic activity of the MAE seemed out of touch with the transformations in the international system, taking insufficient account of the growth of multilateralism and of non-state-actors, the expansion of trade, and the development of electronic communications systems. Critics questioned the way French diplomats accomplished their mission. This criticism was partly taken up in a report drafted by Minister of Foreign Affairs Hubert Védrine in 1997.[9] Védrine stressed the need to adapt the French diplomatic network to globalization. In particular, he highlighted that too few French diplomats were present in emerging countries. Moreover, he undertook a major reform of the Quai d'Orsay by incorporating the services of the Ministry of International Cooperation inherited from the beginnings of the Fifth Republic. In 2006, Minister of Foreign Affairs Philippe Douste-Blazy launched a plan to modernize the ministry. By concluding an agreement with the Ministry of Budget, the plan aimed to reduce the costs of the MAE and downsize its workforce. Moreover, the MAE was encouraged to sell a part of its real estate holdings.[10]

The *White Paper on France's Foreign Policy* published in July 2008 returned to this issue. Commissioned by the president and the prime minister, it reviewed the missions, organizational models, and staff management policy of the MAE. It paid particular attention to the diplomatic network. The White Paper reaffirmed the principle of the universality of the network by

saying that the closure of some of the smallest missions would only yield marginal savings. Instead, it suggested an approach based on "modularity."[11] Here the distinction was between three main types of missions. In some thirty countries, embassies *à mission simplifiée* (simplified missions) were planned. These missions would sometimes employ a single official, externalize their activities, and rent their premises. In other countries, the White Paper distinguished between embassies *de plein exercice* (full missions), undertaking the entire spectrum of diplomatic activities, and embassies *à mission prioritaire* (specialized missions), undertaking only some of them. Moreover, the White Paper advocated sharing resources between embassies in a given region and redeploying existing staff from the largest missions—such as Washington, London, Madrid, Berlin and Dakar, Rabat, and Antananarivo—to emerging countries, particularly in Asia.

An enquiry made by the Cour des comptes in 2013 puts the impact of these changes into perspective.[12] It explains that the modularity advocated by the White Paper remains limited. While the redeployment to emerging countries is real, the number of agents in Brazil and South Africa has dropped. The Cour des comptes criticized the limited scope of the externalization process. Despite reducing employment by 5.3 percent since 2007, the French diplomatic network remains based on a principle of flexibility for its missions.

Diplomatic Security: A Recent Awareness

The safety of its staff abroad has long been a concern for the MAE. Nevertheless, a systematic diplomatic security policy has been devised only recently, in response to terrorism against French interests abroad. A key element of this new policy is the establishment in 2007 of a specialized administrative service responsible for defining the objectives and means of diplomatic protection. This administrative service, originally called the Sub-Directorate for Diplomatic Security and Defense (Sous-Direction de la Sécurité Diplomatique et de la Défense, SSD), has been the source of the main improvement plans launched by the minister of foreign affairs in the past few years.

During the 1980s, MAE agents suffered from several attacks in the course of the Lebanese civil war. In 1981, the French ambassador Louis Delamarre and his driver were shot dead in Beirut. In 1985, Marcel Carton and Marcel Fontaine, two diplomats, were abducted by Hezbollah and kept hostage together with French and other Western countries' citizens until their release

in 1988. In September 1986, the French military attaché in Beirut was shot and killed near the embassy. During the 1990s, French diplomats especially suffered from the consequences of Algerian civil war, in which some thirty French citizens were targeted by attacks. On August 3, 1994, three gendarmes and two embassy employees were killed during an attack against the Ain Allah estate, where the embassy staff were housed. From December 24 to 26, 1994, the passengers of an Air France flight were held hostage by Algerian terrorists, and three of the hostages, including an employee of the French embassy, were murdered by the attackers.

More recently, French diplomatic staff and premises have suffered from attacks attributed to the jihadist movement. The embassy of France in Mauritania has been repeatedly targeted. Two gendarmes were injured by a suicide bomber in 2009, and a car bomb exploded outside the embassy in 2011. On April 22, 2013, the French embassy in Tripoli was entirely destroyed by a car bomb, and the two gendarmes guarding the building were wounded. In addition, the MAE is now facing especially high risks arising from violent demonstrations or mob intrusions into diplomatic premises, particularly in Africa and the Middle East. On January 28, 1993, the ambassador of France in Kinshasa was accidentally killed during a local military mutiny. More recently, attacks and intrusion attempts have taken place in Ivory Coast (2011), Syria (2011), Iran (2012), and the Central African Republic (2012). Evolving security threats have increased the number of countries considered at risk. Whereas several years ago such countries numbered only six or seven, they currently number twenty-two, most of which are in the Sahel, North Africa, and the Middle East.

For a long time, the MAE did not have a department that specialized in diplomatic security issues. Different departments of the Directorate-General for Administration dealt with this problem: the Real Estate and Logistics Directorate was responsible for the passive security of premises, the Human Resources Directorate was in charge of staff safety, the Directorate for IT Information Systems was responsible for ensuring the protection of communications systems, and the Directorate for Financial Affairs administered embassy budgets from which armored vehicles were purchased. These various directorates were placed under the responsibility of the head of the Directorate-General for Administration. As the *haut fonctionnaire de défense* of the MAE, the *secrétaire général* of the ministry—the senior officer of the Quai d'Orsay—was responsible for sending security guard reinforcements to

embassies in case of emergency. In each country, safety issues were the responsibility of the "number 2" (*numéro 2*) of the embassy.[13] This diplomat was in charge of managing technical services and, as the "security officer" (*officier de sécurité*), commanded the embassy's security guards. The position of security officer is considered as a normal stage in the career development of each diplomat. The embassy's security guards were gendarmes or policemen made available by the Ministry of Defense until 2009 and by the Ministry of the Interior since then.[14] In 2007, the number of security guards worldwide was five hundred. Until the 2000s, the MAE lacked a global approach to the location and layout of its embassies. Moreover, security measures were designed only to ensure the safety of the embassies' premises and of the ambassador alone. Even today, French diplomats stress the liberty they enjoy in comparison with their US counterparts.[15]

In the early 2000s, as we have seen, the issue of the funding and modernization of the French diplomatic network was discussed. Even so, the safety of personnel and premises was hardly mentioned. The two major reforms of the 1990s, which took the name of the ministers who proposed them, Juppé and Védrine respectively, did not address this question even though they dealt with adjusting the "diplomatic network."[16] The modernization agreement reached by Philippe Douste-Blazy in 2006 was no exception. On the contrary, it even planned to reduce certain security guard positions in embassies.[17]

However, the security threats that might result from this reduction in personnel led to the creation of the Diplomatic Security Service (Service de Sécurité diplomatique). Xavier Driencourt, head of the Human Resources Directorate in 2004 and currently head of the Directorate-General for Administration and Modernization, and one of the more respected senior civil servants in the ministry, commissioned a report on this issue. This report stressed the necessity of coordinating the ministry's action on diplomatic security. It highlighted a problem of consistency as well as a lack of political direction and long-term planning. Since 2007, the fragmented way in which the issue of diplomatic security was addressed has given way to a diplomatic security service placed under the overall authority of the Directorate-General for Administration and Modernization. Originally named Sous-Direction de la Sécurité Diplomatique et de la Défense, it was redesignated as Directorate for Diplomatic Security (Direction de la Sécurité diplomatique, DSD) on January 1, 2017.

FIGURE 1. Organogram of the Administration and Modernization Directorate General of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2017.

Since it was created, the SSD has been headed by diplomats with acknowledged experience in security matters. From 2007 to 2013, the SSD was led by a diplomat and former Gendarmerie colonel who had headed the Groupe d'Intervention de la Gendarmerie Nationale (GIGN, Gendarmerie Emergency Response Unit). He was replaced in 2013 by the former consul general in Karachi, who had served as a French naval officer before becoming a diplomat. Since March 2017, the Directorate for Diplomatic Security has been headed by a Gendarmerie brigadier general, also a former leader of the GIGN. To encourage recruitment and retention of the qualified people it needs, and most notably former members of military or police elite units, the SSD advocated the creation of regional branches throughout the world in order to improve their career prospects.[18] Since January 2017, the new Directorate for

Diplomatic Security is divided into three regional branches, based in Abidjan, Abu Dhabi, and Nairobi. Each of them employs one agent, mandated to assist ambassadors in applying security policy.

Since 2007, the role of the Sub-Directorate for Diplomatic Security and Defense has been to define a consistent security policy for the diplomatic network by providing coordination and ensuring a rationalization of material and human resources. In order to do this, the SSD employs about eighty civil servants in Paris, divided between officials from the MAE and other government officials (intelligence services, police, Gendarmerie, logistics experts, systems experts, and the like). Through their participation, members of governmental security services ensure the coordination of the SSD with other security services. From 2007 to 2008, the head of the SSD succeeded in making available 440 gendarmes and policemen as permanent security guards. Growing threats led to a new way of using this staff. In an effort to increase their presence in the most vulnerable diplomatic posts, for instance, the number of security guards was reduced in more stable countries.

Moreover, growing needs have led to more structural reforms. In 2007, a new position of *chef de sécurité opérationnel* (Chief of Operational Security, COS) was created in some embassies. The creation of the COS was inspired by the model of British security manager.[19] The mission of COSs is different from that of security guards. In an embassy, the COS is responsible for designing the post's security plan, advising embassy officials, and coordinating the hiring of guards. In an initial project, COSs would be recruited among former members of the military or police. The final solution, however, was to have them recruited among gendarmes and policemen in active service. The MAE is now planning the total replacement of security guards by COSs in calmer diplomatic missions. In 2013, 29 COS jobs were created. In the same year, 15 embassies among 158, 82 consulates among 96—mainly located in Europe—and 14 permanent representations among 17 were without security guards.[20]

This reduction in workforce is compensated by investments in passive safety equipment. More generally, MAE officials underline the limited means at their disposal compared to their international counterparts. The budget of the US Diplomatic Security Services is equal to the entire MAE yearly budget as a whole. Despite drastic cuts in the Foreign Office budget, Great Britain invests over twice as much as France in diplomatic security. Very little has changed in this context over the last few years, since the funding increases announced by Laurent Fabius in 2013 had to be financed by selling ministry

properties abroad.[21] This funding method is considered to have been a weakness in Fabius's plan to strengthen diplomatic security.[22]

One of the tasks of the SSD was to draw up a diplomatic security doctrine. As such, four specific threats to diplomatic staff and premises were documented: risks to information security, terrorism, criminal risks, and risks related to political violence (violent demonstrations, attempted intrusions, assaults, and the like). On these issues, the SSD's mission is to work with other services of the Directorate-General for Administration and Modernization, such as the Real Estate and Logistics Directorate or the Information Systems Directorate, which implement the policy it defines. To address the threats it has identified, the SSD focuses on prevention and anticipation. From 2007, an installations audit policy was launched.[23] Covering forty missions per year, it aims to spend four years assessing all security installations of French consular and diplomatic posts. In addition, a policy on the protection of premises was launched in cooperation with the Real Estate Department. This policy has resulted in an upgrade of the passive security measures of diplomatic premises. In 2010, for instance, some fifty embassies received as least 50,000 euros to bring their safety installations up to standard. In addition to its action in the area of passive security, the SSD launched a campaign to raise personnel awareness of safety issues by introducing training sessions.

However, since the inception of the SSD, diplomatic security policy has been torn between a need to upgrade the safety network and the need to cope with emergencies and growing risks. As early as 2011, in the wake of the terrorist attack against the embassy in Nouakchott, some of the recently upgraded diplomatic posts needed to be improved to deal with unanticipated circumstances. In 2012, in the wake of the murder of the US ambassador in Benghazi, Minister of Foreign Affairs Laurent Fabius announced a 23 percent increase in the diplomatic security budget.[24] But it was above all the car bomb attack against the French embassy in Tripoli in April 2013 that justified the adoption of a new safety plan. The embassy was immediately relocated to a hotel, a way for the French government to affirm its determination to maintain its presence in Libya.[25] One month after the attack, Fabius announced an additional 20 million euros dedicated to a new strategy of securing the diplomatic network.[26] This new program was aimed at purchasing safety equipment and armored vehicles and funding an increase in security measures. In addition to protecting diplomatic facilities, this program aimed to strengthen the safety of the buildings where French nationals come together,

such as cultural institutes and educational establishments. In 2016, a report of the Senate nevertheless emphasized that this expansion of the mission of the SSD, combined with an increase in the number of countries in which terrorism is a threat, weakened this first plan.[27] In this context, the creation of the new Directorate for Diplomatic Security corresponds to a desire reaffirmed in 2016 by the minister of foreign affairs to increase resources dedicated to the security of French personnel and firms abroad.

Diplomatic Security Today

French diplomatic security policy is novel. As a consequence, the institutions and action schemes on which this policy is based have been marked by changes in the wide range of the MAE's activities. Rather than an already accomplished set of directions, this policy outlines a specific vision of what needs to be done in the area of diplomatic security and of the interplay between security issues and diplomacy.

The question of externalizing security and guard functions at embassies is at the heart of the debate surrounding French diplomatic security policies. As we have seen, the creation of the Diplomatic Security Service was initially a reaction to a proposal for the externalization of security and guard functions intended to reduce the number of gendarmes and police officers employed in embassies, which was put forward when Douste-Blazy was the foreign minister. A few years later, the first director of the Diplomatic Security Service did not hesitate to warn of the risk that this outsourcing could pose for security.[28] Various actors associated with diplomatic security policy, however, have a more nuanced view of externalization. With respect to the employment of locally hired security guards to ensure the protection of the perimeter of embassies, they stress that this is a long-standing and seemingly adequate practice, so long as it is limited to patrolling the external perimeter of embassies. A definitive position on the larger question of outsourcing has not yet been formulated.[29] This absence of a strong position bears witness to the pragmatic attitude on this question. Indeed, the SSD is the service within the MAE that makes the most use of such contracted employees.[30]

The cost of private security contractors is one of the most important criteria for understanding the wariness to use private guards. While outsourcing security to PSCs is often deemed to be cheaper,[31] it is in fact less expensive for the MAE to deploy military and police personnel, since a significant part

of the associated costs are borne by their institutions of origin. On the other hand, however, relying on former Gendarmerie or police personnel means that those responsible for diplomatic security will be dependent on the good will of the hierarchy of the police or Gendarmerie to dispatch their officers.[32]

A second element under debate is the impact of this diplomatic security policy on diplomatic activity itself. The spread of a culture of security within the MAE is a mission that the members of the SSD have taken on. In this context, they are pleased with the success of the training programs in diplomatic security that they organize for MAE personnel, but also that of other ministries. At the outset, the program was planned strictly for safety officer training, but it has been extended to all the ministry's personnel comprising the diplomatic network. Different kinds of training programs have been implemented: some are focused on the management of crisis situations and include simulations, mock hostage rescue exercises, use of firearms, etc. Others deal with more technical aspects, such as information security. In 2014, the MAE also set up a crime program for the first time. Training programs have taken a long time to develop. Only ten security officers took part in the first training session in 2004 and unit heads were reluctant to let them attend. In 2014, seventy people were involved in the security officer training program and more than fourteen hundred civil servants have attended one or the other of these programs.

This effort to raise awareness has improved the way security is now taken into account within the MAE. This is particularly the case with respect to the personal security of ministry personnel, an issue where—according to the SSD—the previously amateurish attitude of French diplomats is finally evolving.[33] Similarly, the efforts of the SSD have led to the use of new principles in the construction of buildings by the MAE outside of France. Security is now systematically taken into consideration and prioritized over the prestige of the premises or esthetic considerations.[34] In certain cases such as Iraq, Afghanistan, and Libya, the MAE has accepted the building of secure compounds into which all the services of the French state are brought together into a single protected site.

The impact of these changes should not, nevertheless, be overestimated. First, MAE personnel are reticent to change practices that they deem to be central to the "French diplomatic style." The ministry has declined, for example, to give up certain historic buildings, no matter how difficult it is to upgrade them to appropriate security standards. Similarly, procedures

defining the conditions under which diplomatic personnel may be required to leave their embassies remained largely undefined. A frequent answer to such questions within the MAE is that there can be no absolute rules in these cases, and that in any event the final decision must rest with the ambassador, rather than with security specialists—a position different from that of other countries.[35]

A third element of uncertainty relates to the scope of intervention allowed to the Directorate for Diplomatic Security. MAE personnel frequently stress the extremely protective attitude of the French state with respect to its citizens abroad.[36] The security of citizens is the responsibility of the ministry's Crisis Support Center (CCS), which was created in 2007. Its area of responsibility relative to that of the Directorate for Diplomatic Security, however, is not always clear. In principle, the Directorate for Diplomatic Security is responsible for the French state's own personnel abroad, while the CCS looks after other citizens. In practice, this division of labor is sometimes ambiguous. Within the SSD, it was still being said in 2014 that gray areas persisted between the responsibilities of the two agencies.[37] These included the security of French government personnel who do not belong to the foreign service and their families. Similarly, since 2016 the DSD has been responsible for the security of all persons traveling or working in an official capacity, whether they are diplomats, other civil servants, or locally recruited personnel. Thus a certain degree of overlap persists, which imposes on the two institutions a need to carefully coordinate their activities.[38]

Conclusion

In this chapter we have sought to understand how the development of a diplomatic security service since 2007 fits into the more general framework of French foreign policy. This policy is often described as a politics of "grandeur," pursuing a particularly ambitious international agenda. We have shown that France does indeed have a particularly large diplomatic network—third in the world in the number of its facilities—that presents a significant target for potential attacks. Despite these characteristics, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has only recently taken into account the security problems posed by this network. Indeed, diplomatic security policy is a recent field of activity for the MAE. The inception of a service specialized in ensuring the safety of personnel and premises abroad dates back only to 2007. Since then, the

resources dedicated to it have been steadily increased, despite the budgetary constraints faced by the MAE in other fields. The establishment of the SSD has been important in dealing with the growing threat to France's diplomatic network. The bomb attack on French embassy staff in 2013 was another argument in favor of increasing resources devoted to diplomatic security.

The development of this policy marks a break with French diplomats' tradition of relative disinterest in security matters, which they have tended to view as a hindrance to their open vision of diplomacy that prioritizes cultural cooperation and free interaction with host countries. The security measures made necessary by the threats against French diplomacy go against this desire for openness. The stakes involved in privatizing certain activities linked to the securing of sites or persons abroad have tended to call into question the MAE's traditional attachment to employing agents of the state's security services. At the same time, however, the post-2007 emphasis on security is part of a reaffirmation of the specificity of diplomatic activity as compared to other functions of the state. The creation of SSD in 2007 was partly a response to a reform project within MAE that sought to modernize its management practices along the lines implemented by other ministries. Since that date, security needs have justified budgetary increases from which the SSD alone has benefitted from within the ministry.

Finally, in high-risk countries to which France sends diplomats, unprecedented levels of threat have led to a tightening of the ambassador's authority not only over members of the diplomatic service, but more generally over all representatives of the French state and its various agencies. In this perspective, the development of a diplomatic security policy by MAE can be seen as a means of reinforcing the centrality of the Quai d'Orsay and its agents.

Notes

1. Decree n 2016–1889, pertaining to the organization of the central administration of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

2. Christian Lequesne, *Ethnographie du Quai d'Orsay. Les pratiques des diplomates français* (Paris: CNRS Editions, 2017).

3. Maurice Vaïsse, *La grandeur. Politique étrangère du général de Gaulle, 1958–1969* (Paris: Fayard, 1998).

4. "The Ministry and Its Network," France Diplomatie, n.d. (accessed May 10, 2018), https://www.diplomatie.gouv.fr/en/the-ministry-and-its-network/.

5. Marie-Christine Kessler, *Les ambassadeurs* (Paris: Presses de Sciences Po, 2012), 50.

6. Assemblée Nationale, Rapport d'information sur le réseau diplomatique et le rôle des ambassadeurs, n 3620, February 20, 2002, 64.

7. Kessler, *Les ambassadeurs*, 349.

8. Jean Picq, "Rapport de la mission de réflexion sur le rôle et le fonctionnement du ministère des affaires étrangères" (1994, unpublished).

9. Hubert Védrine, *La France et la mondialisation : rapport au Président de la République* (Paris: La documentation française, 1997).

10. Alain Barluet, "Douste-Blazy s'engage à moderniser le Quai d'Orsay," *Le Figaro*, October 15, 2007.

11. Alain Juppé and Louis Schweitzer, *Livre blanc sur la politique étrangère et européenne de la France 2008–2020* (Paris: La documentation française, 2008).

12. Cour des comptes, *L'évolution du réseau diplomatique depuis 2007*, Interim order n 65294, Paris, February 13, 2013, https://www.ccomptes.fr/sites/default/files/EzPublish/Reseau_diplomatique_refere_65294.pdf.

13. Head of the Centre d'Analyse, de Prévision et de Stratégie, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, interview by the author, Paris, February 4, 2014.

14. Since 2009, the Gendarmerie is under the authority of the Ministry of Interior. The Gendarmerie is a military police body that is considered part of the military, although its function primarily consists in domestic law enforcement.

15. Head of the Directorate-General for Administration and Modernization, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, interview by the author, Paris, May 12, 2014.

16. Former head of the Directorate-General for Administration and Modernization, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, interview by the author, Paris, July 2, 2015.

17. *Contrat de modernisation du Ministère des Affaires étrangères, 2006–2008*, 15, www.cgt-mae.org/IMG/pdf/contrat_modernisation.pdf.

18. Deputy assistant director, Sub-Directorate for Diplomatic Security and Defense, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, interview by the author, Paris, July 10, 2015.

19. Former commanding officer of GIGN (Gendarmerie Emergency Response Unit) (1997–2002), former head of the Sub-Directorate for Diplomatic Security and Defense (2007–2013), Ministry of Foreign Affairs, interview by the author, August 29, 2014.

20. Sénat, *Sahel : pour une approche globale. Rapport d'information au nom de la Commission des Affaires étrangères, de la défense et des forces armées par le groupe "Sahel,"* n 720, July 3, 2013, 124.

21. Patrick Bèle, "20 millions d'euros pour renforcer la sécurité des diplomates français," *Le Figaro*, May 22, 2013.

22. Sénat, *Sahel*, 125.

23. Former member of the National Gendarmerie Intervention Group, and founding president of IREMOS, interview by the author, Paris, October 22, 2015.

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29. Former assistant director of the Directorate of Territorial Surveillance (1998–2004), advisor of the president, GEOS Group, interview by the author, Paris, January 20, 2016.

30. Head of the Sub-Directorate for Diplomatic Security and Defense, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, interview by the author, Paris, June 6, 2014.

31. Eugenio Cusumano, "Diplomatic Security for Hire: The Causes and Implications of Outsourcing Embassy Protection," *Hague Journal of Diplomacy* 12, no. 1 (2016): 1–29.

32. Former Head of the Directorate-General for Administration and Modernization, interview.

33. Former French ambassador in Beirut (2012–2015), head of the Crisis Centre, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, interview by the author, Paris, January 20, 2016.

34. Deputy assistant director, Sub-Directorate for Diplomatic Security and Defense, interview.

35. Former French ambassador in Beirut (2012–2015), interview.

36. Head of the Sub-Directorate for Diplomatic Security and Defense, interview.

37. Deputy assistant director, Sub-Directorate for Diplomatic Security and Defense, interview.

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5 German Diplomatic Security Policy

A Federal Police Response

Klaus Brummer and Ulrich Krotz

Introduction

With almost 230 embassies, consulates, and other diplomatic outposts around the world, Germany maintains a global diplomatic presence.[1] This network extends into sensitive and at times dangerous locations such as post-conflict zones, where German personnel or physical premises are targets of espionage and, increasingly, terrorist attacks. As a result, diplomatic security has moved up the German foreign policy agenda—though this has gone largely unnoticed by the scholarly community and the broader public. This chapter traces the development of Germany's diplomatic security policies, with a particular focus on the period since the end of the Cold War.

This contribution addresses the following questions: How does Germany understand and seek to enhance its diplomatic security? What factors have driven the evolution of the country's diplomatic security policies? And have the security arrangements the German government has pursued to protect its diplomatic missions abroad been perceived as effective? As this chapter illustrates, in response to heightened security threats Germany has implemented in recent years a range of new security measures at its diplomatic premises around the world: designing buildings that can better withstand and protect personnel from bomb blasts; concentrating offices and living quarters for diplomatic personnel within embassy compounds; and deploying the German Federal Police (Bundespolizei) to protect diplomatic personnel and physical installations, especially in countries where security and stability are tenuous.

Germany's Diplomatic Activities

As of early 2018, Germany maintained 227 diplomatic missions and other outposts around the world: 153 embassies, 61 consulates general and consulates, 12 permanent missions to international organizations (e.g., the United Nations, NATO, and the European Union), and one Vertretungsbüro, the German representative office in Ramallah. In addition, 337 unpaid honorary consuls act as points of contact for Germans traveling or working abroad.[2]

Of some six thousand regular staff members of the Federal Foreign Office (Auswärtiges Amt), more than half (around 3,050) work at missions outside Germany. In addition to its regular personnel, these missions employ an additional 5,600 local staff, either Germans or residents of the host countries recruited on site. These missions also include personnel on secondment from other federal ministries, the German states (*Länder*), or private institutions (business, think tanks, and so on).[3]

While the majority of Germany's 227 diplomatic missions are in safe locations, many operate in sensitive and at times dangerous environments. The *Fragile States Index 2017* illustrates this point.[4] The index's "security apparatus" indicator includes data on internal conflict, riots and protests, rebel activity, and bombings, among other factors. Of the thirty-two countries that score an eight or higher (on a ten-point scale), Germany maintains missions in all but three.[5] In the other twenty-nine countries, Germany has at minimum an embassy, though the embassy in Libya has been temporarily closed for security reasons and the embassies in South Sudan and Syria are only in partial operation.[6] Since there are also consulates general in several of these fragile countries, roughly 15 percent of Germany's diplomatic missions operate in highly sensitive locations, with several more located in countries in which the security situation is only marginally better.

In fact, several of Germany's diplomatic posts are located in countries where major internal conflicts have only recently ended or are still ongoing. For the last fifteen years or so, Germany has been actively involved in state-building activities in a number of post-conflict zones, such as in the Balkans, Afghanistan, and the Middle East. Germany has contributed to several multinational missions in the Balkans, including the NATO-led Operation Allied Force (OAF) against Yugoslavia in 1999. Germany has also been one of the largest troop contributors to the NATO-led Kosovo Force (KFOR), whose duties include the maintenance of a secure environment and the development of Kosovo's security forces.

In Afghanistan, Germany took on a major role within the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) framework.[7] In particular, it was the lead nation for ISAF's Regional Command North, where up to 5,300 German soldiers were stationed, making Germany the third largest contributor of military personnel to the mission (behind the United States and the United Kingdom). Within this regional command, Germany operated two Provincial Reconstruction Teams (PRTs). One was in Kunduz Province. The Bundeswehr took control of this PRT, originally established by the United States, in 2003. The other was established in 2004 in Fayzabad, Badakhshan Province. These two PRTs brought together military personnel, representatives from the Federal Ministry of the Interior and the Federal Ministry of Economic Cooperation and Development, civilian experts (e.g., from development agencies), and diplomats from the Foreign Office, who were tasked with the coordination of the PRTs' non-military/civilian activities, among other responsibilities.[8]

The German PRTs differed from those led by other NATO members. German PRTs did not operate under an exclusive military command, but were instead led by a "civilian-military dual leadership."[9] While the military leader came from the Federal Ministry of Defense, a representative from the Foreign Office served as the PRTs' civilian head. In 2012, a year before the Kunduz PRT was handed over to Afghan security forces, the Federal Foreign Office assumed sole responsibility for the team.[10] Despite occasional tensions between the different institutions involved—also a feature of PRTs run by other ISAF states[11]—the German PRTs represented one of the landmarks of Germany's efforts to pursue a "networked security" approach that aimed to integrate military and non-military efforts for brining security and stability to Afghanistan.[12]

In addition to activities conducted through the German-led PRTs, German diplomats based at the embassy in Kabul conducted a range of activities. For instance, in 2004 the embassy opened a field office in Herat. Two years later it was moved to Mazar-e-Sharif.[13] Following the conclusion of ISAF, Germany has been one of the main contributors to the NATO-led follow-up mission Resolute Support, contributing up to 1,300 military personnel.

Although it declined to participate in the 2003 US-led military intervention that toppled Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein, Germany contributed to subsequent state-building efforts in the country. Among other efforts, Germany gave financial support to Iraq totaling some 400 million euros. It also offered training courses for more than 2,500 Iraqi judges, journalists, diplomats, and

other professionals. In 2004, Germany reinstated full diplomatic relations with Iraq, which had been downgraded after its 1990 invasion of Kuwait. In addition to its embassy in Baghdad, which was looted by local Iraqis during the 2003 military intervention,[14] Germany opened a consulate general in Erbil in 2009.[15]

Germany's involvement in Libya displays a similar pattern. In 2011, Germany again declined to participate in a military intervention—this one led by NATO—but joined international reconstruction efforts after the ousting of Muammar Gaddafi. Germany suspended diplomatic relations with the Gaddafi regime in Libya in late February 2011. In mid-June, it recognized Libya's National Transitional Council as the legitimate representative of the Libyan people,[16] and reopened the German embassy in Tripoli in September 2011. Under the auspices of its embassy in Tripoli, Germany has operated capacity-building programs on disarmament, the media, and constitution building. It has also contributed several million euros in emergency aid. However, due to the ongoing civil war, the official business of the German embassy in Libya has temporarily been covered by the embassy in Tunisia.

In short, Germany has been actively involved in state-building efforts in post-conflict situations. In these and other locations, its diplomatic missions and personnel have increasingly become the targets of terrorist attacks.

German Diplomatic Security in Historical Perspective

Germany's diplomatic missions abroad have been regular targets of various types of security threats. These include espionage and—perhaps even predominantly in recent years—physical attacks against German diplomatic personnel or premises. During the Cold War, the Federal Republic was firmly anchored in the Western, US-led alliance structure. Diplomatic security during this period centered on protecting state and alliance (NATO) secrets from the Soviet Union and its allies, including the German Democratic Republic (GDR; "East Germany"). Since the end of the Cold War, the challenges have changed considerably. Now diplomatic security is primarily about the physical protection of diplomatic installations from armed attacks by non-state actors.

Given the clandestine nature of espionage, as well as countries' reluctance to publicly acknowledge being the victims of such operations, there is no systematic data on the extent to which Germany's diplomatic missions abroad have been compromised by foreign intelligence. To give but one illustrative

example during the Cold War: the GDR's Ministry for State Security (Ministerium für Staatssicherheit) was highly interested in obtaining classified documents that circulated in the Foreign Office of the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG). For that purpose, the ministry recruited West German diplomats who subsequently delivered state secrets to the GDR. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, a spy working as an encryption specialist stole secrets from headquarters as well as from the FRG's embassies in the United States and Poland.[17]

Espionage against German diplomatic missions continued after the Cold War. In November 1999, members of a private security firm charged with protecting the German embassy in South Africa found a camera mounted in a tree as well as a recording unit hidden in a dustbin located opposite the embassy. The devices had allegedly been installed by an African intelligence agency in an attempt to monitor the activities of members of the German Foreign Intelligence Service (Bundesnachrichtendienst, BND) who were working out of the embassy to recruit local informants.[18] The German embassy in Australia has allegedly been the target of a much more sophisticated espionage campaign. Reports claim that at least one computer in the embassy was infiltrated during a cyber spying operation called "ghostnet," which apparently originated from a major country in Asia.[19]

More recently, "Merkelgate"[20]—the wiretapping of Chancellor Angela Merkel's cell phone by the US National Security Agency (NSA)—confirmed that even some of Germany's closest allies are prone to spying on personal or secret government communications. However, this phenomenon is neither recent nor limited to the United States. For example, when technicians from the BND discovered in 1994 that the communications system of the German embassy in the United States had been manipulated to allow monitoring of phone conversations, suspicion immediately fell on the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA).[21] The British Government Communications Headquarters (GCHQ) too has apparently monitored communication flows of German embassies, including in Rwanda in 2009 and in London as far back as 1980.[22]

Whereas espionage incidents can to a certain extent be concealed from the public, terrorist attacks against diplomatic premises and personnel cannot. German diplomats and/or installations have been the target of multiple terrorist attacks, especially since the end of the Cold War. Only a few incidents of terrorist violence were recorded until the late 1980s. Among them was an attack by the left-wing Red Army Faction (Rote Armee Fraktion, RAF) on

the German embassy in Sweden in April 1975. The six attackers, who held a dozen members of the embassy hostage and ended up killing three of them, demanded the release of leading RAF members imprisoned in Germany. The incident ended with the accidental detonation of the terrorists' explosives, which allowed the remaining hostages to escape and the Swedish police to arrest the terrorists.[23] Another incident involved an electronics specialist employed by the FRG's embassy in the Soviet Union, whose tasks included sweeping the embassy premises for surveillance devices. On a visit to a monastery in September 1964, he was attacked with poison gas.[24]

Whereas examples of terrorist attacks during the Cold War are sparse, numerous examples fill the subsequent two-and-a-half decades. Unsurprisingly, many of the attacks have occurred in sensitive locations. One of the most serious took place in October 2013, when a Federal Police officer serving on the close protection team of the German ambassador to Yemen was killed in an attack allegedly perpetrated by al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula.[25] The attack happened less than three months after the German embassy's two-week closure due to terrorist threats.[26] A similar attack occurred in early January 2014 in the city of Awamiya, in eastern Saudi Arabia. Two diplomats working at the German embassy were fired upon while in their car, which subsequently caught fire. The diplomats escaped unscathed.[27] In neighboring Iraq, on Easter Sunday 2010, the German embassy in Baghdad became the target of a suicide attack perpetrated by an al-Qaeda affiliate organization, which justified its act with Germany's participation in the Western intervention in Afghanistan.[28] The explosion killed one Iraqi security guard and damaged the embassy building.

Terrorist attacks on German diplomats or diplomatic missions have not been limited to the Middle East. In June 2007, a motorcade from the German embassy in Afghanistan was attacked outside the capital city of Kabul. While no one was hurt, one of the cars was destroyed.[29] In January 2009, a suicide bomber blew up a van in front of the main gate of the German embassy in Kabul. The attack killed half a dozen people and injured more than twenty others. Among the injured were members of the German embassy, including local employees.[30] The powerful blast also caused severe damage to the embassy's main building, blowing out several bulletproof glass windows and propelling them into interior office spaces. More recently, in April 2012, the German embassy in Kabul was among the targets of coordinated attacks by the Taliban that also included other diplomatic missions, including those of the United States and Russia.[31]

In April 2016, Germany closed its embassy in Ankara and its consulate in Istanbul due to fear of an imminent attack. Following reports that the German Foreign Ministry had received several concrete tips that terrorist attacks were in preparation against German representations in Turkey, the German school in Istanbul was also closed. Only a few days earlier, a car bombing killed thirty-seven people. A Kurdish extremist group claimed responsibility.[32]

The German-led PRTs in Afghanistan have also been targeted. Many German officials, including the commander of German troops in Kunduz, considered attacks on PRTs to be unlikely.[33] In fact, less than four months after the commander's assessment, a rocket hit one of the living quarters of the PRT in Kunduz, wounding three German and two Swiss soldiers.[34] A number of similar attacks followed in subsequent years. In September 2008, for example, a rocket detonated on the premises of the PRT Kunduz; in March 2009, one day prior to the visit of the German minister of defense, three rockets were fired at that same PRT. No one was hurt in either incident.[35]

Attacks on German diplomatic missions have occurred in other Asian countries as well as in Africa. In February 2007, the German ambassador to Sri Lanka narrowly escaped a mortar attack by Tamil fighters.[36] In September 2012, locals stormed the German embassy in Sudan to protest against a display of Mohammad cartoons and a supposedly anti-Islam film in Europe. Attackers smashed windows and set fire to the embassy building, though no embassy staff was hurt.[37] The following Friday, diplomats at several missions in the region were advised to avoid the embassy premises for fear of further violent protests.[38] In addition, security measures at German embassies in North Africa were enhanced through the deployment of additional officers from the German Federal Police.[39]

Whereas the vast majority of attacks on German diplomatic missions took place in other regions, some incidents happened in Europe. In late March 1999, a couple of days into Operation Allied Force (the NATO-led bombing campaign against Yugoslavia), pro-Serb protestors attacked the German embassy in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. They smashed windows and destroyed parts of the embassy's ground floor.[40] Almost ten years later, in February 2008, Serbian nationalists attacked the German embassy in Serbia—along with several other diplomatic missions from Western countries—to protest the independence of Kosovo. Though the rioters burned down the embassy's guardhouse, they did not enter the main embassy building.[41] Even in fellow EU member states, German missions have come under attack. In December 2013, left-wing

extremists fired a machine gun at the residence of the German ambassador to Greece. Fourteen years earlier, the ambassadorial residence had been the target of a rocket-propelled grenade attack.[42]

In light of these and other terrorist attacks, Germany has intensified the protective measures for its diplomatic installations and personnel, particularly in sensitive locales. In addition to regular protection for diplomatic missions conducted by officers from the German Federal Police at both sensitive and nonsensitive locations (for details, see the section on "Diplomatic Security Today," below), officers have been deployed to German missions in sensitive countries in order to perform personal protective duties for German ambassadors.[43] Responding to the overstretch of its elite unit GSG 9, which used to perform those tasks, in 2008 the Bundespolizei established a new unit at its headquarters—Unit 44 dealing with protection in crisis areas (Schutz in Krisengebieten, SIK)—which assumed personal protection duties for German ambassadors. In December 2008 the unit took over from the GSG 9 its first protection duties at the German embassy to Afghanistan. The embassies in Iraq, Yemen, and Libya followed. However, in order to release headquarters from performing operational measures, among other reasons, in 2013 personal protection duties were assigned back to the GSG 9, and a new office on personal protection abroad (Dienststelle "Personenschutz Ausland," PSA) was established.[44]

In late 2015, close protection teams (Personenschützer) from the PSA were on duty at the German embassies in Afghanistan and Iraq, as well as at the German consulate general in Mazar-e-Sharif, Afghanistan. At the German embassy in Lebanon, at least one additional Federal Police officer consulted staff members on the issue of personal protection.[45] By late 2017, a total of twenty-seven Federal Police officers served in close protection teams at four German missions: the embassy in Afghanistan, the consulate general in Mazar-e-Sharif, the embassy in Iraq, and the embassy in Tunisia, which also currently covers Libya.[46] Table 2 further illustrates that the number of missions with close protection teams has changed over time. As a rule, close protection teams, which rotate roughly every three months,[47] are established in response to a changing, and typically deteriorating, security situation. In the case of Mali, for example, they were established in the fourth quarter of 2012 when Islamist groups moved closer to the capital city of Bamako. In Libya, personal protection duties commenced with the reopening of the German embassy in the third quarter of 2011, six months after its closure due to the civil war.

TABLE 2. German Federal Police officers performing personal protection duties at German missions abroad, 2011–2015

Quarter/Year German missions abroad	1/ 2011	2/ 2011	3/ 2011	4/ 2011	1/ 2012	2/ 2012	3/ 2012	4/ 2012	1/ 2013	2/ 2013	3/ 2013	4/ 2013	1/ 2014	2/ 2014	3/ 2014	4/ 2014	1/ 2015	2/ 2015	3/ 2015	4/ 2015
Number of German missions abroad where Federal Police officers perform personal protection duties	2	2	3	3	3	5	5	6	5	5	4	4	3 (+1 for consultation)	4*	3*	3*	4*	3 (+1 for consultation)	3 (+1 for consultation)	3 (+1 for consultation)
Afghanistan (Kabul)	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x				x	x	x	x
Afghanistan (Mazar-e-Sharif)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–				–	x	x	x
Iraq (Baghdad)	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	–				x	x	x	x
Libya (Tripoli)	–	–	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x				–	–	–	–
Yemen (Sana'a)	–	–	–	–	–	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x				x	–	–	–
Colombia (Bogotá)	–	–	–	–	–	x	x	x	–	–	–	–	–				–	–	–	–
Mali (Bamako)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	x	x	x	–	–	–				–	–	–	–
Lebanon (Beirut)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	x (consultation)				x	x (consultation	x (consultation)	x (consultation)

* For the second quarter of 2014, the locations were not specified. Sources: Authors' compilation based on Drucksachen of the German Bundestag.

Germany has also deployed Federal Police officers to German missions on a short-term basis during crisis situations. This happened around the beginning of 2013, when an unspecified number of officers were sent to the embassies in Mali, Niger, Burkina-Faso, and Chad to consult with local staff on security issues.[48]

Additionally, Germany has responded to terrorist threats and attacks by augmenting the security of its diplomatic premises. The German embassy to Afghanistan serves as a case in point. During repairs to the severely damaged main building of the embassy in Kabul after the January 2009 terrorist attack mentioned above, the size of the windows facing the street was reduced and the walls were reinforced. However, this was only seen as a temporary solution. The building, dating from the 1970s, did not meet German requirements pertaining to earthquake security.[49] German officials decided to build a new main embassy building (Kanzleigebäude) near the old one, which will be torn down when the new building is completed.[50]

Several buildings containing living quarters for embassy staff (Dienstwohngebäude) have been built on the embassy compound in recent years. The first, with twenty-three units, was already completed in 2008 (and thus before the 2009 attack). Planning for the second building, which added an additional seventeen units, started after the attack. The building was completed in 2012. The main justification for these new buildings was that embassy personnel, most of whom had been living in apartments in Kabul, faced heightened security risks on their daily commute to work. Building living quarters on the embassy compound would provide more security for personnel sent from Germany.[51] With the aim of housing as many of the embassy's personnel on embassy grounds as possible, another building featuring twenty-four units was built in 2010–2011 for members of the embassy's security staff (Hausordnungsdienst).[52] The total cost for the new main building and the three living quarters amounted to some 86 million euros. Finally, a new "high security wall," designed to absorb major bomb explosions and mortar attacks, now surrounds the embassy compound.[53]

Diplomatic Security Today

Many of Germany's diplomatic missions operate in highly sensitive locations. In recent years, the Federal Foreign Office has issued a series of country-specific warnings, illustrating the heightened security threats currently facing

many German diplomats serving abroad. In April 2018, travel warnings were in place for Afghanistan, the Central African Republic, Iraq, Yemen, Libya, Somalia, South Sudan, and Syria. "Partial" travel warnings were issued for Egypt, Mali, Nigeria, Pakistan, the Philippines, and Ukraine, among others. Perhaps surprisingly, full or partial travel warnings were not issued for all of the thirty-two countries the *Fragile States Index 2017* identifies as those with the most intense challenges concerning political violence. For example, no warnings existed for Burundi, Ethiopia, Sudan, or Zimbabwe.[54] In any case, the operation of numerous missions in highly sensitive locations underscores the importance of the diplomatic security imperative and directs attention to the examination of the institutional arrangements underlying the protection of diplomatic personnel abroad.

According to §15/3 of the German Foreign Service Act (Gesetz über den Auswärtigen Dienst), the head of a diplomatic mission is formally responsible for the safety of the mission's personnel and their family members, including protection from external threats.[55] Of course, the head of mission does not personally perform security measures. Instead, the German Federal Police is the main body in charge of the protection of German diplomatic posts and personnel abroad. Its officers perform security-related tasks predominantly, but not exclusively, at posts in sensitive locations. In addition, local security companies take on security measures for German missions, mainly in non-sensitive locations.[56] Finally, following the 1961 Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations, the host state is also involved in the protection of diplomatic posts, generally through the use of local police forces.

Furthermore, in a 2000 inter-ministerial agreement (Ressortvereinbarung) between the Foreign Ministry (AA) and the Ministry of Defense (BMVg), Germany instituted "crisis support teams" (Krisenunterstützungsteams, or KUTs) that could be dispatched to German representations abroad. These teams of up to fifteen soldiers provide support in acute or imminent crisis situations.[57] Deployable on very short notice (and usually for just a few days), the KUTs are staffed with members of the German armed forces. However, KUT members do not carry arms, travel in civilian clothing rather than military uniforms, operate with the status of foreign diplomats, and are under the supervision of the German ambassador or military attaché of the country in which they are sent. For these reasons, KUT deployment does not require parliamentary approval—a normal requirement for sending Germany military forces abroad.[58]

The KUTs' main task is to provide protection for German diplomatic personnel and other citizens in potentially dangerous or acutely threatening crisis situations abroad. The task includes undertaking a range of security responsibilities, from consulting ambassadors or consuls regarding imminent security concerns, to gathering relevant information and preparing and executing evacuations.[59] In December 2013, for example, a KUT evacuated German diplomatic personnel from South Sudan with a Transall transport plane belonging to the German air force.[60]

The most recent German government report on the country's embassies, consulates general, and permanent representations to international organizations where Federal Police officers are involved in securing the facilities (Hausordnungs- und Objektschutzdienst) lists seventy missions. In total, about two hundred Federal Police officers are currently on duty at these various installations.[61]

A comparison of the deployment of Federal Police officers to German missions between 2011 and 2015 shows a dynamic picture. During this period, Federal Police officers performed security-related tasks at 101 different missions. The peak was in the second and third quarters of 2013, when officers were operating at 83 different missions. The lowest was in the second quarter of 2011, when they were operating in 77.[62]

Thus, the deployment of Federal Police officers to German diplomatic missions fluctuates over time, mainly due to security-related developments in the host country or, in some cases, because of a temporary lack of personnel or delays in the rotation of officers. Somewhat surprisingly, even the German missions in sensitive locations are not covered on a permanent basis, and some are not covered at all. Between 2011 and 2015, for example, of the thirty countries the *Fragile States Index 2015* identifies as having serious security deficiencies, only twenty-nine of Germany's thirty-five diplomatic missions in those countries had Federal Police officers assigned to them to provide security.[63] The German embassies in Guinea, Myanmar, Niger, the Philippines, and South Sudan did not receive similar security details.

Moreover, the missions in those sensitive locations have never been covered simultaneously. In mid-2011, only 21 received such protection. Several missions have also seen changes over time. Since the second quarter of 2014, Federal Police officers have no longer protected the Germany embassy in Mexico. The consulate general in Mazar-e-Sharif, Afghanistan, and the German embassy in Chad have seen protection only since the first and third quarter of

2014, respectively.[64] At first glance, this might suggest a lack of consistency in Germany's diplomatic security policy. However, in some cases (for instance in Yemen in the second quarter of 2011), Federal Police officers were absent for very short periods (i.e., one quarter), likely due to a transition in personnel rather than a deliberate decision to leave a mission uncovered.

Yet officers from the German Federal Police are not only charged with security-related duties pertaining to the protection of posts in both sensitive and non-sensitive locations. As the above section details, they also perform personal protection duties at German missions abroad and are deployed to German missions on a short-term basis during crises. Finally, a Federal Police officer engages in information gathering and information management duties at Germany's representative offices in Ramallah, and at the country's permanent missions to the United Nations and the European Union, respectively.[65]

Overall, Germany has clearly bolstered its diplomatic security in recent years. Despite these changes, some questions remain about whether Germany has taken threats to its diplomatic security seriously enough. On the one hand, modifications in German diplomatic security policy over the last few years demonstrate not only decision makers' increased level of awareness concerning the changed nature and scope of the threat, but also a willingness to take corresponding action. On the other hand, German diplomatic personnel and installations are still vulnerable. A May 2017 bombing near the German embassy in Kabul killed more than 150 people and severely damaged the embassy building. Several German diplomats were injured in the blast, but none died.[66]

Conclusion

Germany is increasingly aware of the heightened security challenges to its diplomatic missions and has enhanced protective measures for its diplomatic personnel and installations accordingly. Such enhancements have mainly occurred for missions in sensitive locations, such as in post-conflict countries like Afghanistan and Libya, where dozens of Germany's more than two hundred diplomatic missions operate. This assessment points to one of the main challenges to the effective protection of the country's diplomatic personnel and premises, which is the uncertainty that emanates from the unstable security environment in sensitive locations. For example, it is impossible to predict whether or when there will be another attack on, say, the German embassy

to Afghanistan, or whether a future Western movie or cartoon, declared or perceived as anti-Islamic by some, will again trigger large-scale protests in the Muslim world culminating in attacks on Western diplomatic missions.

The latter scenario also points to the challenge that today's almost instant worldwide flow of information poses to diplomatic security, which can prompt attacks against personnel or installations seemingly out of the blue. A further challenge emerges from an expanding array of ways and means used to attack diplomatic missions. This includes suicide bombings or the use of computers to spy or steal information. Regarding the latter threat, the challenge to diplomatic security seems to have shifted from the inside (i.e., diplomatic personnel spying on their own country) to the outside (i.e., attacks by hackers on computer networks).

During the Cold War and the quarter century that followed, Germany largely adopted a low-profile approach to diplomatic security, treating it as a policing matter. This inclination has suited the general orientations that the old (West) German Federal Republic and the young unified Germany have cultivated since the late 1950s, and which have extended into this century.[67] However, since around 2010 Germany appears less able to avoid more direct involvement in international politics and security. The crisis over Russia's annexation of Crimea and its de facto invasion of eastern Ukraine arguably saw Germany take a leadership role in a major international security crisis for the first time since the end of World War II.[68] With an assertive and resurgent Russia, chronic violence in the Middle East, an unsettled post–Arab Spring Maghreb, a massive refugee crisis, bouts of terrorism in Europe, and an expanding EU Common Security and Defense Policy (CSDP), among others, Germany's role in the high politics of security and defense has become significantly more prominent and visible, and it is likely to become yet more so in the years and decades ahead. Correspondingly, Germany is no longer off the radar of jihadist or other terrorist groups, nor is it safe from other international or local threats to its diplomats and missions around the world. The 2017 attack on the German embassy in Kabul has been a painful reminder of the unpleasant exigencies of a dangerous world, and that even the enhanced diplomatic security measures Germany has implemented in recent years may not fully suffice.

Against this background, diplomatic security arrangements for German missions are likely to be upgraded even further in the future. For obvious reasons, this should apply primarily to posts operating in sensitive locations.

Additionally, security arrangements should be reinforced at missions in countries that might experience a deterioration of their security environment in the near future. In this regard, the German Federal Police has recently run several pilot projects at missions to which Federal Police officers thus far have not regularly been deployed, but where for security reasons the provision of advice (and protection) might become necessary sooner rather than later.[69]

Notes

1. In this chapter, we use "Germany" to refer to the Federal Republic or "West" Germany during the Cold War until unification in 1990, and after October 1990, to unified Germany. This chapter does not cover the diplomatic security affairs of former "East" Germany.

2. Auswärtiges Amt, "Auslandsvertretungen," May 30, 2017, https://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/de/aamt/auslandsvertretungen-node (accessed April 11, 2018).

3. Auswärtiges Amt, "Mitarbeiter," http://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/DE/AAmt/AuswDienst/Mitarbeiter_node.html (accessed April 11, 2018).

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6 Russia's Militarized Approach to Diplomatic Security

Elena Kropatcheva

Introduction

As epitomized by the murder of the Russian ambassador to Turkey in December 2016, the Russian Federation (RF) is facing an increasing number of challenges to the security of its diplomats and representations abroad. Still, Russia's diplomatic security policies have received very little attention in Russian and Western publications alike.

Diplomatic security is a secretive topic. This is even more so in the RF where, owing to a national security culture, mistrust of other states (inherited from the Cold War era and intensified by Russia's recent policies), and domestic political developments (such as increasing authoritarianism and a strong military influence), there is much secrecy surrounding foreign and security policies.[1] It is therefore difficult or sometimes even impossible to find information on policy arrangements such as diplomatic protection. Keeping these arrangements secretive is perceived as one of the means of providing security.

The chapter examines the following questions: How is diplomatic security understood in Russia? Can the changes in Russia's attitude toward diplomatic security from the end of the Cold War to the present day be traced? If so, what have been the drivers of this change, and what novel measures have it brought about? In order to answer these questions, the chapter begins with a short overview of Russia's diplomatic activities. Next, it provides a historical overview of Russian diplomatic security. From there, it turns to a discussion of Russian diplomatic security today, the main perceived threats, and both the

institutional arrangements described by official documents and the concrete security measures envisaged for protecting Russian diplomats abroad. The final section draws some general conclusions on Russian diplomatic security.

Russia's approach to diplomatic security is reactive, with Russia trying to adjust its security arrangements and address previous mistakes in response to novel challenges and developments. Some overarching trends can, however, be discerned. Most notably, the military component of Russian diplomatic security has grown increasingly prominent. This tendency reflects Russia's national security culture and goes hand in hand with recent developments in Russian domestic politics and the broader militarization of Russian foreign policy. While the Russian government has displayed a genuine commitment to increasing the security of its diplomatic personnel, the ad hoc and reactive character of its diplomatic security policies and various institutional constraints have often weakened the effectiveness of such measures.

Overview of Russia's Diplomatic Activities

Russia has more than five hundred diplomatic missions abroad.[2] An increase in Moscow's diplomatic presence closely followed Russia's growing role in international politics.[3] By the early the 1890s, the Russian Empire had 143 foreign diplomatic posts.[4] After the Second World War, the USSR had about 200 diplomatic missions abroad.[5] Post-communist Russia has continued to increase the number of its diplomatic representations. The proactiveness of Russian foreign policy over the last several years has led to the creation of new posts. For example, in 2008 Russia opened two new embassies, in Abkhazia and South Ossetia, after waging military operations against Georgia and recognizing the two secessionist regions as independent states.[6]

Russian diplomatic personnel fulfill a number of functions, such as promoting economic ties, conducting strategic communication with a view to enhancing Russia's soft power, carrying out Russian foreign policy, gathering information about the host country, preparing international agreements, and representing and protecting the interests of Russian citizens in the host country.[7] As in the case of the foreign personnel of other countries, it is sometimes questionable whether Russian diplomats fulfill only diplomatic functions. Indeed, Russian diplomats have sometimes been accused of espionage in the host countries where they were seconded.

Occasionally Russian diplomats have tried to take on a greater and more assertive role in local political processes, as has recently occurred in Syria and Ukraine. In many other cases, however, their role has been marginal compared to other great powers. For example, Russian diplomats have not been involved in state-building activities in Afghanistan, Iraq, or the former Yugoslavia, where Russia stood in firm opposition to Western military intervention.

Russia has a large number of diplomatic missions in sensitive and dangerous locations. Officially, countries that fall into this category are defined annually, according to the Decree of the Government of the RF of June 3, 2011 (N 438), "On the Order of Providing Additional Guarantees to the Employees of the Diplomatic Service Who Work in Foreign States with a Difficult Societal-Political Situation and Which Are in a State of Emergency or Military Conflict."[8] In 2016, twenty-six countries were listed in this document. Among the places with a difficult societal-political situation were Abkhazia, Georgia, India, Iran, Israel, Kenya, Kyrgyzstan, Lebanon, Pakistan, Sudan, and Tajikistan. Countries in a state of emergency or conflict were Iraq, Afghanistan, Yemen, Libya, Syria, and Palestine.

It is not quite clear how these lists are compiled. Political motives may sometimes play a role in labeling a country as dangerous. For example, the security situation in Georgia—with which Russia has problematic relations—is much less unstable than in Israel or Sudan, which were not included in the list. Some other countries where there have been attacks on Russian and other foreign diplomats in the past years, such as Egypt and Libya, belatedly entered the list only after 2013. Ukraine, with a de facto war ongoing on its territory, was not mentioned at all. Still, Ukraine (like Syria, Afghanistan, Iraq, Lebanon, Pakistan, Egypt, Turkey, and some African countries) was explicitly mentioned in the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA) review *Foreign Policy and Diplomatic Activities of the Russian Federation in 2015* as a country where Russian diplomats were attacked and Russian diplomatic property was damaged.[9]

In sum, official unclassified documents, which were used in this analysis, are full of inconsistencies and only reflect the security reality to some extent. Far from being shaped by security considerations only, the tendency to frame certain host countries as dangerous is a political statement that reflects the state of Russian relations with those countries.

Diplomatic Security in Historical Perspective

The problem of protecting state representatives and premises abroad is far from new in Russia. According to Anatoly Torkunov, diplomatic security challenges emerged as soon as envoys were sent abroad, and became more complex in the fifteenth century, when the first small representations were established abroad. Security concerns had two main aspects: the physical protection of envoys, and the security of information they were producing and handling.[10]

Despite the norm of diplomatic immunity, representatives of the Russian Empire and later the Soviet Union were often imprisoned, detained, attacked, and even killed. In the eighteenth century, for example, Turkey imprisoned all Russian representatives on its territory after declaring war on Russia.[11] One of the most notorious cases was the death of the famous writer Aleksandr Griboedov, author of the *Woe from Wit*, who was seconded as a diplomat to Teheran, where he and most other members of the mission were killed during an attack by "fighters for the Islamic faith" in 1829.[12] In 1929, the USSR broke diplomatic relations with China after the Soviet consul general and his team were detained for six hours and subjected to violence.[13] In 1980, the Soviet embassy in Teheran was attacked twice, and ten members of the diplomatic mission were killed.[14] In 1986, as a consequence of clashes between two armed groups, the Soviet embassy to Yemen was stormed and several dozen of its employees were injured or killed.[15]

Information security has also been challenged. The Russian Empire started to strengthen its intelligence and counterintelligence at the beginning of the nineteenth century.[16] With the development of various complex technologies, ensuring information security became more difficult. The first reference to spying devices being used against the USSR was made in Washington, DC, in 1944.[17] In the 1970s and 1980s, Soviet security forces found many types of technical spying devices in different countries hidden in offices, homes, and other places where Soviet diplomats spent much time. Such discoveries were repeatedly made in several countries.[18] In 2001, the Russians found out that the United States had built a special tunnel to eavesdrop on Soviet diplomats in Washington during the 1970s and 1980s.[19] There have also been cases in which Soviet diplomats have been accused of espionage. For example, 105 Soviet diplomats were expelled from London in 1971, and 80 Soviet diplomats were sent home from the United States in 1986.[20]

It is the responsibility of a host state to protect the foreign diplomatic presence on its territory.[21] However, relying exclusively on host state protection is often impossible. The first attempts to formulate special security arrangements for the protection of Russian diplomats were made during the Soviet period. Vladimir Bogdanov points out that the sending of special security officers to protect Soviet embassies started in the 1970s.[22] These special security guards, who first appeared in the Soviet embassies in Bonn, New York, and Latin American countries, were servicemen of the Border Guard Service, which operated under the authority of the Committee of State Security (KGB). In the 1970s, a special training center for diplomatic security guards was also opened in Moscow. Despite general mutual mistrust, Soviet intelligence services often cooperated with foreign intelligence services on information exchange in order to provide security for the diplomatic missions.[23]

Diplomatic Security Today

Types of Threats to Diplomatic Posts

The threats facing Russian diplomats today can be classified into four main types: terrorist acts and major violent attacks; politically motivated hooliganism; criminal acts; and information leaks and espionage. These are illustrated in the following subsections. Some of the cases are mentioned only briefly. For others—more recent and important cases—more details are provided, especially if they prompted revisions in Russian diplomatic security arrangements.

Terrorist Acts and Major Violent Attacks

Russian diplomatic personnel have often become the targets of terrorist, extremist, or other major violent attacks. For instance, in 1999 a grenade was thrown into the premises of the Russian embassy in Erevan, Armenia. In 2000, a Palestinian terrorist from the organization Asbat-al-Ansar attacked the Russian embassy in Beirut as a sign of solidarity with the Chechen fighters in the North Caucasus.[24] In 2006, one of the most tragic incidents happened in Iraq, when five members of the Russian mission were killed. A terrorist group connected to a local unit of al-Qaeda took responsibility for the attack, demanding Moscow withdraw its troops from Chechnya.[25]

In 2013, the Russian embassy in Libya was attacked by a group of armed men, who broke into the embassy premises. The security staff of the embassy, most likely spetsnaz special operations units (discussed in more detail below),

forced the attackers to withdraw within an hour with the help of a Libyan pro-government security unit. In the meantime, mission personnel and their families hid in a protected panic room within the embassy. The attack was in retaliation for the murder of a Libyan officer by a Russian citizen.[26] Following this incident, after the Libyan minister of foreign affairs admitted the government was unable to provide for the security of the Russian personnel, the mission was evacuated. Two months later, Russian diplomats returned to Libya after the local authorities assured the Russians they were ready to provide security.

According to the Russian ambassador Alexander Kinschak, since 2013—when Russia started military operations in Syria—there have been many attacks on the Russian embassy in Damascus.[27] In 2013 and 2015, for example, the embassy was damaged as a result of mortar attacks, but no one was injured. It is not clear whether all of the attacks were committed on purpose by Syrian anti-government forces in retaliation against Russia's support of the Assad regime or whether they just occurred accidentally because the Russian embassy is located in the district where many Syrian governmental buildings are also located. Because of the ongoing conflict in Syria, many states have closed their diplomatic representations in the country. The Russian embassy in Damascus, by contrast, has continued operating. As its security has been significantly strengthened, it now resembles a fortress surrounded by cement blocks and protected by the Syrian army.[28]

The conflict in Syria is also likely to have played a role in the murder of the Russian ambassador to Turkey in 2016, shot in an Ankara gallery by an off-duty police officer who shouted "Don't forget Aleppo!" The Russian MFA classified this as an act of terrorism with the purpose of sabotaging Russian-Turkish relations.[29] A day after this murder, the Islamic State published lists with the names of Russian diplomats who could be subject to attack.[30] As in many other cases, the Russian MFA accused the Turkish host state of not having ensured the security of the Russian diplomat at the event. Indeed, there was no event guest list and no metal detectors were used. However, Russia's own diplomatic security arrangements also appear to have been at fault, as the ambassador attended the event without his personal security staff.[31]

Political Hooliganism

The RF has a diplomatic presence in many countries where its current political and historic roles generate grievances, which has often led to hooligan attacks on its posts. In 1999, a group of thirty hooligans got into the grounds

of the Russian embassy in Berlin.[32] In 2010, a group of anarchists tried to set fire to the premises of the Russian mission to Belarus by throwing incendiary bottles onto the embassy premises.[33]

In 2013, Polish nationalists attacked the Russian embassy during the Independence Day march in Warsaw. The reasons for the attack were both historical and more recent grievances of Polish nationalists vis-à-vis Russia, such as Russia's policy toward Ukraine. The hooligans threw fireworks, stones, and bottles onto the embassy's premises, and set on fire both the security booth outside the gates of the embassy and a garbage container, on which they put signs reading "Down with Communism!" and "The Red Army of rapists."[34] As a result, nineteen hooligans and twelve policemen were injured and some property was damaged.[35]

After Russia's annexation of the Crimea in 2014 and support for rebel forces in Eastern Ukraine, there have also been many attacks on the Russian embassy in Kyiv and on its consulates in other cities.[36]

Thus, political hooliganism is present in countries with which Russia has the closest political and historical relationships, but where its foreign policy is perceived negatively and interpreted through the prism of past historical experiences with the Soviet Union. In most cases there have been no victims or major consequences. Russia's response has been limited to statements condemning the hooliganism and appealing to the host states to provide better security for Russian representations.

Criminal Acts

Some of the attacks on Russian diplomats are simply criminal acts—robbery, fights, and even murders. For example, in 2006, the car with Russian ambassador to Kenya had to stop after a boy ran out into the road. It was then attacked by bandits, who robbed and injured the ambassador and his companions.[37] In 2014, a Russian consul and his wife were attacked in Sudan when they were getting into their car.[38] These small-scale criminal acts are another challenge to the security of Russian diplomatic personnel. However, they have been usually very context-specific and depend on the behavior of individuals.

Information Leaks and Espionage

There is not much information about current cases in which Russian diplomatic posts have suffered from espionage or information leaks. Arguably, Russia is reluctant to make such cases public, as they would reveal the vulnerability of its posts abroad. Evidence of Russian information security

weaknesses may not only result in further attacks, but also tarnish Russia's effort to portray itself as a great power.

In 2013, for example, Brazilian newspapers reported that in 2003–2004 Brazilian intelligence was spying on the Russian consul in Rio de Janeiro.[39] After Edward Snowden revealed that the United States had bugged many EU embassies, Vladimir Putin announced that there was proof that the United States was spying on Russian diplomatic posts too.[40]

All in all, there have been many cases of attacks on Russian diplomats in different countries and of different natures. Some of these, such as terrorist/extremist attacks and political hooliganism, have become more frequent and more predictable owing to Russia's contentious and assertive foreign policy. Specific changes to existing protective arrangements were only made in response to terrorist attacks. Other breaches of Russian diplomatic security have been more specific and ad hoc. As Russian minister of foreign affairs Sergey Lavrov stated: "Unfortunately, one can't foresee everything. Life is much more complex than any plan. We take all the measures we believe are necessary."[41]

Arrangements Underlying the Protection of Diplomatic Personnel Abroad

Documents on the Protection of Russian Missions Abroad

The most basic of the many official documents that cover the protection of diplomatic personnel and posts abroad are: Decree 1497 of the President of the RF on the "Adoption of the Provision on the Embassy of the RF" of October 28, 1996; Decree 1330 of the President of the RF on the "Adoption of the Provision on Consulates of the RF" of November 5, 1998; Decree 1180 of the President of the RF on the "Adoption of the Provision on the Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Ambassador of the RF in Foreign States" of September 7, 1999; Decree 1316 of the President of the RF on the "Adoption of the Provision on the Permanent Representation of the RF in an International Organization" of September 29, 1999; Decree 1451 of the Government of the RF "On the Complex of Measures of Carrying out the Evacuation of Russian Citizens from Foreign States in Cases of Emergency" of December 30, 1994, and changes to this document dated August 8, 2003; Federal Law 205-FZ of the RF on the "Special Features of State Civil Service in the System of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation" of July 27, 2010; and the already-mentioned Decree 438 of the Government of the RF of June 3, 2011.[42] There

is also a special document—the Information Security Doctrine of the RF of September 9, 2000—focusing on information security and the prevention of unauthorized attempts to access confidential information.[43]

These documents regulate the activities, tasks, and functions of Russian diplomatic posts abroad and name the institutions responsible for the provision of security for diplomatic posts and personnel abroad. While numerous, all these documents are vague and do not list any concrete security measures. Only the special document on evacuation is relatively detailed in listing specific safety procedures when abandoning diplomatic premises abroad. Official documents, nonetheless, reflect the effort to make Russian diplomatic security more systematic and effective in response to terrorism. In the wake of the growing number of terrorist attacks on Russian diplomatic posts abroad and especially after the tragic incident in Iraq in 2006, a number of meetings at the level of deputy ministers and the Inter-Departmental Working Group within the MFA took place in 2006–2007, with the aim of discussing how to make Russian diplomatic posts abroad safer.[44] As a result, a "Concept of Providing Security for Institutions of the RF Abroad, Taking into Account Threats of Terrorism" was adopted in 2007.[45]

Furthermore, in 2012, President Putin signed Decree 1198, "On Introducing Changes into Some Decrees of the President of the RF," which came into force on January 1, 2013. This decree adds to some of the previous documents (e.g., decrees on embassies, consular representation and representation in international organizations, and on extraordinary and plenipotentiary ambassadors) special paragraphs on "the necessity of taking special measures . . . in crisis and emergency situations, which arise because of threats or acts of international terrorism."[46] After the murder of the Russian ambassador in Turkey, according to Sergey Lavrov, "Safety and security are becoming our number one priority. . . . We have come up, in response to President Putin's instruction, with additional proposals on how to improve the security of our diplomatic missions. . . . This work is invariably divided into several areas: physical protection, technical protection, and work with the host country."[47]

In sum, unclassified official documents that cover the provision of Russian diplomatic security are generally vague; we can therefore assume that some more elaborate classified documents have been drafted as well. The vagueness of the documents reviewed above, however, is not unique to diplomatic security. Most Russian unclassified foreign policy documents are often elusive, making research a daunting challenge. In spite of the limited amount of

openly available information, a review of the documents shows that Russia has gradually started to view terrorism and extremism as the most important threats to its diplomatic posts abroad.

Institutions Involved in Russian Diplomatic Protection

According to the aforementioned documents, it is primarily the MFA of the RF that is responsible for providing security for its employees and their families abroad. To that end, the MFA works closely with the Foreign Intelligence Service (SVR), the Federal Security Service (FSB), the Federal Border Guard Service, the Ministry of Defense, and the Ministry of Finance. More ministries are involved in cases of mission evacuations, including the Ministry of Civil Defense, Emergencies and Disaster Relief, the Ministry of Justice, the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations, the State Customs Committee, and other state organs.

Within the MFA, there is a special Security Department responsible for some coordination and inspection functions. It provides diplomatic posts with security devices and the like, such as armored vehicles, alarm systems, and video observation systems.[48] In 2007, in the "Concept of Providing Security for Institutions of the RF Abroad, Taking into Account Threats of Terrorism" it was decided to create a special Situational-Crisis Center within the MFA.[49] In 2012, President Putin reiterated this idea in his Decree 1198. As a response, on January 1, 2013, a new department, the Situational-Crisis Center, was created within the MFA. This center is responsible for monitoring situations of concern in foreign countries and for the reaction to emergency or crisis situations that affect the security of Russian citizens and premises abroad. It coordinates its activities with Russian foreign missions (and in particular their crisis units, described below) and other relevant ministries and institutions in Russia.

Russia's heavy reliance on intelligence services (both the SVR and the FSB) for the protection of its diplomats—a trend that began during the Soviet period—can be explained by the general prioritization of so-called power agencies and *siloviki*, that is, the various state security and military organizations. In the post-Soviet period, this trend gained momentum during Vladimir Putin's presidency.[50] The SVR informs the Russian government of any threats and risks and the development of emergency situations in foreign states. It then helps to prepare plans for evacuation and instructs diplomats in necessary actions in emergency situations.[51] The SVR has a special Upravlenie K (Unit K) which is responsible for intelligence on security situations.[52]

Thus, Russia has a risk-management approach, relying heavily on intelligence reports to tailor diplomatic security arrangements to changing levels of threat.

Primary responsibility for the provision of security lies in the ambassador/head of the diplomatic post, or another senior person appointed by the ambassador. Heads of diplomatic posts often appoint a special assistant responsible for security matters. According to the law on evacuation, in order to be able to respond to situations of emergency such as armed attacks and political hooliganism, heads of diplomatic posts have to work out several plans of action.[53] The 2007 "Concept of Providing Security for Institutions of the RF Abroad, Taking into Account Threats of Terrorism" decreed that special crisis units within foreign diplomatic posts had to be set up in accordance with the decision by the Federal Operative Unit of the National Counterterrorism Committee of July 3, 2007.[54] These crisis units, headed by the ambassador/head of mission, are responsible for taking urgent decisions on how to act in an emergency, and communicate with the MFA's Situational-Crisis Center. This especially concerns larger missions located in dangerous or sensitive countries.

In sum, to protect its diplomatic premises and staff abroad, Russia relies primarily on its military institutions and intelligence. In order to increase situational awareness and provide a more tailored response, crisis centers within diplomatic representations and the Situational-Crisis Center within the MFA have been introduced as a reaction to major attacks on Russian diplomats and diplomatic posts abroad in 2006–2007. The practical realization of these measures, however, has been quite slow. It took six years to launch the Situational-Crisis Center after initial discussions in 2007.

Measures to Protect Russian Diplomatic Posts

The Russian government relies heavily on host countries to provide security for diplomats outside of its diplomatic premises. In Lavrov's words, "Whenever there are concerns that safety may be compromised, our ambassadors immediately go to the relevant authorities of the host country."[55] In most public statements on attacks on Russian diplomatic posts, Russian officials emphasize the host state's responsibility and failure to provide adequate security. In general, Russia appeals to the host country to place police units to guard the outside perimeter of its diplomatic missions wherever necessary, especially if the Russian security services consider the situation as highly risky.[56] After the murder of the Russian ambassador to Turkey, many states acceded to Russia's request to provide its ambassadors with armed guards.[57] In the beginning of 2018, because of protests in Iran, for example, Iran took

special measures to enhance the security of the Russian embassy at Moscow's request: Teheran's police and security forces maintained a heavily guarded cordon around the embassy, and Russian personnel left the embassy's premises only if necessary and traveled only short distances. According to Lavrov, in many countries Russia has also increasingly employed local private security companies (PSCs) "with them primarily watching the outer perimeters," but occasionally using them to escort embassy staff too.[58]

Providing security inside its diplomatic premises abroad is the task of the Russian government's own forces. Specifically, a Russian security officer is responsible for identifying visitors and screening them with metal detectors. According to the ambassador of RF in Libya, Ivan Molotkov, the protection of many Russian diplomatic posts abroad was for a long time merely symbolic, as it only relied on a small police unit or a special security officer, or no protection at all.[59] However, Russia has gradually started to take measures to strengthen the security of its diplomatic posts abroad. This has been largely a learning experience from past tragic incidents. This also reflects a more general trend in Russian domestic politics. Throughout the 1990s, military and security forces were in disarray. Only in 2000–2006 did President Putin start to increase the funding of national security institutions, and more attention was paid to different aspects of Russian defense policies.[60] Reflecting both this trend and the growing threat of terrorist attacks, more funding has become available to increase the security of Russian foreign representations working abroad.

Many of the measures Russia has taken to provide security for its diplomatic posts abroad resonate with what other countries have also been doing, as they consist in the protection of premises, personnel, and communications. As Lavrov explains, "Physical safety includes, above all, secure fences, the ability to stop unwanted visitors at the entrance to a diplomatic mission, and commandants-on-duty, who are traditionally in charge of video surveillance of the grounds contiguous to our embassies and consulates general."[61] Some embassies in more sensitive locations have special secured driveways and walls, rely on armored cars for transport when visiting dangerous districts, and operate special satellite communication systems should phone lines be cut off.[62]

The location of an embassy also plays an important role. For example, after the attack on the embassy in Libya in 2012, Russia demanded that the government of Libya provide a new building that would better satisfy

security demands by allowing for the creation of a safe perimeter around the embassy.[63] Before a mission moves into a new building, special measures are taken to inspect it and to check all equipment and furniture for spying devices.[64] Offices of diplomatic personnel on the premises are usually located either in rooms without windows or in rooms with windows facing the inner yard of the diplomatic building. After a number of terrorist acts, new measures have been taken to check posts for explosives.[65]

In some countries, Russian diplomats live under conditions of "restricted freedom." As the Russian ambassador to Afghanistan noted, there are strict restrictions concerning how to move around outside the embassy, and it is not allowed for embassy staff to visit some districts of Kabul.[66] In Sudan too, special guards accompany mission members to their cars and security staff accompany diplomats during their visits to the city.[67] There are also special protected premises outside the embassy where staff can hide in case of attack. As epitomized by the recent murder of the ambassador in Turkey, the provision of security for Russian diplomats outside the diplomatic premises remains the most vulnerable point.[68]

In terms of information security, Russian diplomats receive special training on how to behave, such as not to talk about work in cars, restaurants, or other public places. Windows of the embassies, telephone cables, and computers have special protections against intrusions.[69] Embassies also have special rooms equipped to handle sensitive information.[70] Each diplomatic representation abroad also has special technical personnel, responsible for checking the security of technical equipment.[71] At the institutional level, the MFA has been developing a special information system on foreign policy issues intended to increase information security.[72] Protection from espionage is deemed especially important owing to the country's history and today's often controversial and confrontational foreign policy.

In addition to these more general diplomatic security measures, Russia has also taken some special arrangements that reflect its security culture and the growing role of its military institutions. For a long time in post-Soviet Russia the duty of protecting diplomats was carried out by civilians. According to Sergey Lavrov, civilian specialists usually worked as security guards or "commandants-on-duty" in missions to smaller countries and were often not armed: "They were temporary employees of a Russian state enterprise working abroad."[73] Some of the measures to strengthen the security of Russian diplomatic premises abroad in the last few years have involved replacing

the civilian specialists with military personnel from the FSB border guard.[74] According to Lavrov, "The share of border guards in the commandant service is constantly increasing."[75]

Another distinctively Russian diplomatic security arrangements in dangerous locations has been the use of special, highly trained spetsnaz, or special purpose units of the SVR. The first spetsnaz units were sent to Iraq after the incident in 2006.[76] It is because of the presence of spetsnaz that no members of the Russian diplomatic mission in Libya were injured after the storming of the embassy in 2012.[77] According to Lavrov, "A few years back, we developed a plan to reinforce the security at foreign offices of Russian government institutions. We calculated how many people we need at the spetsnaz level. It was several hundred. We have a shortage of them right now, but we are working on this issue."[78] Today Russia uses these spetsnaz units in the twelve countries with ongoing internal armed conflicts. Lavrov also explains that "as the situation unfolds, we, in conjunction with our colleagues from the security services, will revise the list of such countries. We prefer not to see it expand, but not everything depends on us."[79]

Russia's SVR is also utilized when diplomatic personnel leave the diplomatic premises. The SVR often has local informants who help it find out whether attacks are planned against diplomats when they are traveling/moving around and their travel route is planned accordingly.[80] Russia also exchanges information with foreign intelligence, but, owing to its mistrust of other countries, this is a limited information exchange.[81]

The use of the SVR and the FSB may, nonetheless, result in the unintended consequence of compromising Russian diplomatic security by hindering cooperation with host countries' security forces. Spetsnaz units are armed and follow Russian diplomatic staff at all events outside diplomatic premises. The presence of armed servicemen abroad, however, depends on host country consent, is hindered by legal and logistical issues, and may create grievances among local authorities and security forces, which may resent the deployment of foreign special operation forces to their territory.

According to former diplomats and security specialists, for example, this explains the lack of armed guards accompanying the Russian ambassador to Turkey to the art gallery where he was killed: Ankara had not given consent to the presence of Russian spetsnaz on Turkish territory. As there were no hostilities there, the Russian authorities did not see the dispatching of special units to protect the ambassador as a priority, and therefore did not pressure

their Turkish counterparts for permission to deploy Russian armed personnel. As a result, a diplomatic security gap had emerged. Thus, the assassination of the ambassador was enabled by mistakes at the institutional level: political insecurity in Turkey was underestimated and Russian institutions failed to increase the protection of the Russian diplomatic staff accordingly.[82] Finally, personality and diplomatic styles are likely to play a role as well: Russian diplomats often do not want to be accompanied by bodyguards, and rely too much on the host country for their security.[83] This leaves diplomatic personnel in charge of deciding on the use of bodyguards, a situation that has not changed even after the tragic incident in Turkey.[84]

In conclusion, Russia has gradually started to pay more attention to the external protection of its premises abroad and to develop special measures to provide for the security of its diplomatic posts from the inside. In general, the measures taken in specific diplomatic representations reflect the level of risk and security and the political situation in the host countries. As the murder of the Russian ambassador in Turkey shows, however, there is still much room for improving how Russia responds to developments in particular countries and to the new risks generated not only by local realities, but also by its own foreign policy. In providing security for its diplomats and representations abroad, Russia relies on its official institutions and military/security staff. So far, PSCs have only been used for the protection of mission perimeters, and have not been involved in the direct protection of Russian diplomatic staff.[85] Given the growing role played by Russian PSCs in indirectly furthering Russian foreign policy goals in theaters like Ukraine and Syria, however, this may change in the future.[86]

Conclusion

The problem of securing diplomatic personnel and information emerged after the sending of the first Russian envoys abroad and survives to the present day. The perceived inadequacy of host country protection and the higher risk of terrorist attacks have recently turned Russian diplomatic security into a major issue that has drawn substantial attention in Russian official statements.

Russian arrangements for providing security inside diplomatic posts have assigned an increasingly important role to military agencies. This is epitomized by the replacement of civilian personnel with border guard servicemen and the use of spetsnaz units in the most sensitive locations. Thus, Russia

relies on host country personnel only for protection outside of its diplomatic premises. Inside diplomatic posts, on the other hand, security is provided by Russian staff alone. Moscow's tendency to rely on its own military institutions for diplomatic protection resonates with Russia's national security culture, reflecting greater centralization, a growing militarization of foreign policy, and an emphasis on self-sufficiency and independence from other actors.

Russia's diplomatic security policy is primarily a reactive. Additional protective measures are often responses to major incidents. These changes, especially the growing focus on the threat of terrorism, are reflected at the conceptual and institutional level, where they are epitomized by arrangements such as the creation of the Situational-Crisis Center in the MFA and crisis units within diplomatic representations. Moreover, the increasingly tight Russian diplomatic security measures are apparent in concrete security arrangements, such as the dispatching of border guards and spetsnaz.

However, the slow pace of Russia's response to evolving threats hinders the effective protection of its diplomatic personnel. Some of the measures taken, such as the training of spetsnaz and the drafting of the interstate agreements required for their lawful deployment abroad, require time, resources, and host countries' consent. These constraints notwithstanding, diplomatic security arrangements are likely to be tightened in the near future according to existing plans. Priority will be given to sensitive locations and large missions, where the risks of serious attacks are deemed especially high.

Notes

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7 Diplomatic Security in Times of Austerity

The Case of Italy

Lorenzo Cladi

Introduction

Protecting the security of its diplomatic representations abroad from external threats is of great concern for Italy. The attack on the Italian consulate in Cairo in July 2015 illustrates the urgency of this issue. This chapter addresses the following broad research question: What has Italy done to protect its diplomatic corps abroad? To this end, this chapter outlines the institutional arrangements surrounding Italian diplomatic security and its evolution in response to increased levels of risks and new financial and political constraints.

Italy does not have a tradition of *insecurity* when it comes to protecting its diplomatic staff abroad. Protecting diplomats abroad, however, has become more salient in the post–Cold War period, when Italy emerged from its so-called golden age of diplomacy. After 9/11 and Italy's inclusion in the international coalition against terrorism, as noted in the first White Paper of the Ministry of Defense, published in 2002, the topic of diplomatic security has become even more pressing.[1]

The chapter begins by briefly putting Italian diplomatic security into context, and then explores the current configuration of the Italian diplomatic network, highlighting that Italy possesses the fourth largest diplomatic network worldwide. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation (known and referred to here as La Farnesina from the name of the building where it is headquartered) is responsible for carrying out foreign relations and providing direction concerning the safety and security of Italian diplomatic

personnel abroad. The discussion then delves into the responsibilities of the main Italian military police body—the Carabinieri—for the protection of Italian diplomatic personnel. It also examines how La Farnesina has recently made use of private security companies (PSCs) as diplomatic security providers of last resort. The chapter closes with a discussion of the challenges associated with diplomatic security today. It argues that Italian diplomatic security faces domestic constraints as well as increasing external challenges. Key domestic constraints include the recent cuts to the budget of the Foreign Ministry and the emergence of a political debate over the alleged privileges enjoyed by diplomats abroad. Such domestic constraints go hand in hand with the increasing pressure of external threats to the Italian diplomatic corps abroad. The chapter looks at three recent episodes that have underscored the importance of diplomatic security. The first is the closure of the Italian consulate in Libya following the attempted attack on Consul Guido De Sanctis in 2013. The second is the diplomatic controversy between Italy and India, which brought about the removal of immunity from Ambassador Daniele Mancini in 2013, and the third is the bombing of the Italian consulate in Cairo in July 2015.

Italian Diplomatic Security: From the Golden Age of Italian Diplomacy to Today

Italy is credited with having contributed to the origins of modern diplomacy.[2] After the fall of the Byzantine Empire in 1453, the small city states that had flourished in the Italian peninsula during the Middle Ages were poorly equipped to face the external threat represented by the Ottoman Turks, the French, the Spaniards, and the Hapsburg Empire, all struggling to control the peninsula. The five main city-states of Renaissance Italy (Venice, Milan, Rome, Naples, and Florence) achieved peace in 1454 with the signing of the Treaty of Lodi, which ensured peace in the peninsula for the following forty years.[3] In order to preserve the status quo, a system of resident ambassadors was created to reduce the uncertainty associated with the security dilemma that was looming large in the Italian peninsula.[4]

Italy is a relatively young country, having achieved unification only in 1861. After World War II, Italy embarked upon a period of economic recovery and became a member of NATO and the European Community. Its foreign policy was mainly limited to enthusiastic endorsement of European

integration and more or less frequent statements in support of NATO.[5] The strengthening of international institutions was seen as part of Italian national interests as Italy was primarily a security consumer. While there was occasional friction with Washington over defense and economic issues during the Cold War, Sergio Romano describes the Cold War as the golden age of Italian diplomacy.[6] Thanks to its close relationship with the United States and to the process of European integration, Italy was able to achieve "a visibility somewhat higher than the country's actual influence would have allowed."[7] At the same time, the low-profile, pacifist, and pro-Palestinian stance of Italian foreign policy shielded Italian diplomatic posts and personnel from becoming targets of terrorist attacks.

Italy's approach to foreign policy and security changed after the fall of the Berlin Wall. A new activism pervaded Italian foreign policy as a result of Italy's exposure to international migration and its proximity to crisis areas such as the Balkans.[8] Accordingly, since the end of the Cold War, Italy has sought to build a reputation as a security producer,[9] and has actively contributed to a number of international peacekeeping missions under the aegis of international organizations such as the United Nations, NATO, and the European Union (EU).[10]

Italy's missions take place in areas that often require the deployment of civilian personnel with an expertise in development, law enforcement, and other state-building skills.[11] This is an important aspect of Italian diplomatic security as Italy maintains a diplomatic presence in several conflict-prone areas. Moreover, the increasing proactiveness of Italian foreign policy—epitomized by its involvement in military operations in Iraq, Afghanistan, and Libya—has increased the likelihood that Italian diplomatic posts abroad could become the target of terrorist attacks.

Overview of the Italian Diplomatic Network

With 298 offices, Italy currently has the fourth largest diplomatic network in the world.[12] The Italian diplomatic network consists of embassies, consular sections, cultural institutes, permanent representations, and special diplomatic delegations. The number of offices worldwide has diminished slightly since 2013, when Italy had 313 offices. Of Italy's 127 embassies worldwide, 27 are in the EU, 16 in European countries outside the EU, 21 in the Americas, 18 in the Middle East and Mediterranean (MENA) region, 20 in sub-Saharan

Africa, and 23 in Asia and Oceania. Of its 79 consular offices, 19 are in the EU, 9 in European countries outside the EU, 29 in the Americas, 5 in the MENA region, 3 in sub-Saharan Africa, and 14 in Asia and Oceania. Last, Italy also has 87 cultural institutes.[13]

A wide diplomatic network is crucial for Italy to advance its political and economic interests worldwide. Italy lacks raw materials, notably minerals and hydrocarbons, while its economy is generally based on small businesses.[14] Access to raw materials is critical for Italy's internal market but also for the production of export goods.[15]

La Farnesina employs 4,043 tenured and 2,556 non-tenured staff. Of particular relevance is the fact that between the years 2005 and 2014, there has been a 22 percent decrease in the number of tenured employees. In fact, in 2005, La Farnesina employed 5,166 tenured staff.[16] As stated in the Article 12 of Legislative Decree 300 of July 19, 1999, the minister of foreign affairs is officially responsible for the conduct of foreign policy and to also for representing the country on the international stage.[17] The minister of foreign affairs, like all other ministers, is appointed by the president of the Republic under a binding proposal by the newly elected prime minister.[18]

The Carabinieri: Supporting Italian Diplomatic Personnel Abroad

The Arma dei Carabinieri—the main Italian military police force—is responsible for both domestic law enforcement and peace and humanitarian support missions abroad. The Carabinieri have conducted expeditionary tasks since 1897 but their involvement in present peacekeeping operations has significantly increased since the end of the 1990s, when they were deployed in Bosnia and Kosovo.[19] Due to their versatility, the Carabinieri are held in high esteem by Italy's allies as providers of policing and police training in the theater of an insurgency.[20]

As the military police force of the Italian armed forces, the Carabinieri are also responsible for "the security of Italian diplomatic institutions, including military institutions abroad" (Art. 1, Act 2, Law 78/2000). When they are performing their military duties, the Carabinieri operate under the authority of the Ministry of Defense; when they are performing domestic law enforcement, by contrast, they are operating under the authority of the Ministry of the Interior.[21] Military expeditionary tasks are performed by the Seconda Brigata Mobile (Second Mobile Brigade). These Carabinieri units receive special training and are readily available if needed.[22] The Seconda Brigata Mobile

has been active since February 2001 and it currently comprises the following regiments: the 7th Regiment Carabinieri Trentino Alto Adige, based in Liaves near Bolzano; the 13th Regiment Carabinieri Friuli Venezia Giulia, based in Gorizia; and the 1st Regiment Carabinieri Tuscania, based in Livorno.[23] Consisting of 550 men, the paratroopers of the Regiment Tuscania have been given the task of protecting Italian diplomatic representations in Lebanon, Somalia, Saudi Arabia, Zaire, Peru, Algeria, Albania, Congo, Serbia, Iraq, Israel, Afghanistan, Pakistan and, more recently Libya.[24]

The Protection of Italian Diplomatic Personnel Abroad

La Farnesina aims to protect the Italian diplomatic personnel abroad in two ways: surveillance and armed escorts. The Carabinieri can carry out both tasks. The protection of premises from intrusion or damage is the responsibility of the police forces of the host nation, as specified by the Vienna Convention.[25]

Within embassies and consulates, the Carabinieri operate under the authority of the chief of the diplomatic mission (chief of mission) on the basis of Article 1 of Presidential Decree 214, approved by the Italian government in 2008.[26] Armed escort duties can be carried out by the 2nd Mobile Brigade. The request for an armed escort is made by the chief of mission to the Inspectorate General of La Farnesina in Rome.[27] The Inspectorate General is responsible for both the supervision of the activities of Italian diplomatic missions abroad and their security arrangements. On the basis of Legislative Decree 297 of October 5, 2000, it is ultimately the Ministry of Defense (MoD) that has the authority to deploy the Carabinieri for the protection of diplomatic premises abroad.[28] The chief of mission's request for an armed escort could be denied by the MoD but this is very rare, especially if such a request comes from embassies located in conflict-prone areas.[29]

The number of people deployed to diplomatic offices abroad with security duties varies. In 2007, the Ministry of Defense published a list of Italian diplomatic representations where military attachés were present. A total of 83 military attachés with 143 Carabinieri with surveillance duties were stationed across 93 Italian diplomatic representations abroad.[30] The countries with the highest number of military attachés were the United States (4), the United Kingdom (4), France (3) and Russia (3). With regard to the number of Carabinieri deployed, countries with the highest numbers were Egypt (4), Iran (4), Lebanon (4), Serbia (3), and the United States (4).[31] The highest number of military personnel deployed in an embassy is in Washington, DC: 4 military

attachés, 4 adjunct military attachés, 4 assistants to the military attachés, 15 further military assistants with 4 civil assistants and 4 Carabinieri with surveillance duties. The Carabinieri provide security services for the diplomatic representations and for the offices of the military attachés as specified by Article 158 of Legislative Decree 66 of March 15, 2010.[32]

The Ministry of Defense, after consultation with La Farnesina, appoints armed service personnel (be they military attachés, adjunct military attachés, or assistants) who are responsible for the protection of diplomatic premises. The appointment of military attachés is decided by the Ministry of Defense following consultation with La Farnesina and the Ministry of Economics and Finance on the basis of Article 2 of Law 838 of December 27, 1973.[33] Military attachés, in turn, collaborate with the chief of mission.[34]

Diplomatic Security of Last Resort: Private Security Companies

La Farnesina can also rely on PSCs.[35] However, there are important caveats that limit its ability to use PSCs as providers of diplomatic security. Firstly, contractors can come across secret documents, and their work can have an impact on the national sovereignty of the country. Secondly, since they are hired on a casual, one-off basis, contractors performing security duties may tarnish the work carried out by the Carabinieri over a long period.[36] Thirdly, the use of personnel from a PSC may generate incentives for the Carabinieri to leave state service in favor of a career in private security. A resort to private military and security companies (PMSCs) is seen as potentially disruptive of the efforts of the Italian state to keep its law enforcement bodies cohesive and coordinated, and therefore Italy does not have a tradition of relying on PSCs. Compared to Anglo-Saxon countries, Italy has been less receptive to the commercialization of security.[37] Relying on contractors for security can therefore prove difficult to justify domestically. In Italy, private security contractors made the headlines in a dramatic fashion during the postwar conflict-building phase in Iraq in April 2004.[38] While the Carabinieri were stationed in and around Nasiriya for Operation Ancient Babylon, an Italian security contractor, Fabrizio Quattrocchi, working for a foreign PSC, was abducted and killed by Islamist militants in Iraq in April 2004.[39] His death triggered a heated political controversy, which increased public wariness of PMSCs.

Nevertheless, the hiring of private security contractors appears to be on the rise. Indeed, the use of PMSCs for diplomatic security tasks has occurred twice in recent years. La Farnesina hired contractors from PMSCs for the first

time when Italian troops were beginning to withdraw from the province of Nasiriya, Iraq, in 2006. Nasiriya was a particularly problematic theater for the Italian armed forces. On November 12, 2003, terrorists attacked an Italian base protected by the Carabinieri. Nineteen Italian citizens (twelve Carabinieri, five soldiers, and two civilians) lost their lives in what became known as the worst attack against Italian armed forces since the end of World War II.[40] The attack increased Italian public opposition to military operations in Iraq. Consequently, at the end of 2006, the new Italian government coalition started withdrawing all Italian troops from Iraq, but decided to maintain a civilian presence in order to remain involved in reconstruction activities. However, as all military personnel—including the Carabinieri—had been withdrawn, the Italian civilians working in the Provincial Reconstruction Team in Dhi Car Province in southern Iraq were in danger of being left with no protection. Private security contractors filled this void. After the withdrawal of Italian troops, the Italian government headed by Prime Minister Romano Prodi then approved the use of the British PSC Aegis to ensure the safety of Italian civilian personnel.[41]

While there was little public awareness of the use of Aegis, five parliamentary questions were filed over this issue between March and June 2007.[42] The contract, drawn up by La Farnesina, stipulated that the payment—amounting to 3.5 million euros—would be paid to the UK embassy, which would, in turn, transfer the sum to Aegis.[43] In spite of the wariness surrounding the use of PMSCs in the Italian public debate, La Farnesina commended Aegis's work. This positive experience opened up some more space for the future involvement of contractors through Law 38/307, whereby it was recognized that during peace-building missions in places such as Afghanistan, Sudan, and Lebanon, La Farnesina could sign an agreement with non-Italian personnel with special training for the protection of people working in areas deemed to be at risk. Article 1 (Section 3) of Law 38 of March 29, 2007, specifies that La Farnesina is authorized to sign temporary working contracts with people and private organizations based outside Italy for the provision of security.[44]

The second case in which La Farnesina relied on contractors was with SKA Arabia, a British company based in Dubai tasked with escorting an Italian government official based in Somalia traveling through the Horn of Africa.[45] The contract with SKA Arabia—drawn up after the attack against the US consulate in Benghazi on September 11, 2012—allowed for the provision of mobile security to all Italian government officials in need for protection in the Horn of Africa. As Somalia was subject of an arms embargo, the provision of

armed escorts for Italian government officials required a specific authorization by the Sanctions Committee of the UN Security Council. SKA Arabia was subsequently able to provide mobile security to other Italian government officials requesting protection.[46]

In summary, the use of PMSCs as providers of diplomatic protection has increased significantly over the last decades.[47] However, since PMSCs are very expensive and difficult to justify domestically, La Farnesina uses them only in exceptional circumstances as diplomatic security providers of last resort.

Italian Diplomatic Security Today

The Italian diplomatic network is in the midst of major transformations. These changes have generated debate as to how sustainable Italy's diplomatic network will be in the years to come in the face of substantial budget cuts. This section summarizes the domestic criticism that the Italian diplomatic network is facing and examines three recent challenges to the safety of Italian diplomats abroad.

In July 2014, the Italian newspaper *Il Giornale* published statistics according to which Italian ambassadors were earning twice the amount of their German peers. This started a debate over the alleged privileges of Italian diplomats.[48] In an interview in 2014, the current general director of resources and innovation at La Farnesina, Ambassador Elisabetta Belloni, responded to this criticism by stating that Italian diplomacy had faced budget cuts by 25 percent since 2008. According to Belloni, La Farnesina costs only the equivalent of 0.2 percent of the Italian GDP, compared to 1.8 percent in France and 1.15 percent in Germany.[49] The cuts Ambassador Belloni referred to are part of a wider spending review, which the former minister for foreign affairs Federica Mogherini proposed in 2014.[50] The planned savings of 108 million euros on the "economic treatment" of Italian diplomatic personnel abroad did not mean, according to Mogherini, that Italy would withdraw from international affairs.[51] Conversely, the foreign minister stated that Italy should simply spend more efficiently.[52] Moreover, La Farnesina responded to the comments made about the unnecessary and expensive privileges of the diplomats by asserting that only Italian diplomats at the top of the career ladder (14 out of 901) were earning very high salaries. Furthermore, it was recognized that the salary scales of Italian diplomats abroad were outdated and needed revision. The official statistics regarding the cost of diplomacy put Italy in fourth place in

Europe with 1.610 million euros spent, after the UK (2.227 million euros), France (2.826 million euros), and Germany (3.486 million euros).[53]

The Detention of the Ambassador to India: A Violation of Diplomatic Inviolability?

As mentioned above, the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations (VCDR) ensures the protection of diplomats abroad. In fact, Article 22 (2) states that "the receiving State is under a special duty to take all appropriate steps to protect the premises of the mission against any intrusion or damage and to prevent any disturbance of the peace of the mission or impairment of its dignity."[54]

However, a case that arguably amounts to a violation of Italian diplomats' immunity has made the headlines in recent years. In 2013, Italian ambassador to India Daniele Mancini saw his diplomatic privileges revoked and he was prevented from leaving the country.[55] India's actions were a retaliation against Rome's decision not to return to India two Italian marines, Massimiliano Latorre and Salvatore Girone, who were awaiting trial before an Indian court for the alleged killing of two Indian fishermen. Italy responded by accusing India of violating Article 29 of the VDCR, which states that "the person of a diplomatic agent shall be inviolable. He shall not be liable to any form of arrest or detention. The receiving State shall treat him with due respect and shall take all appropriate steps to prevent any attack on his person, freedom or dignity."[56] Only the sending state can withdraw an envoy's diplomatic immunity. The receiving state, by contrast, cannot revoke diplomatic immunity even in exceptional circumstances, such as an armed conflict.[57]

Both Italy and India signed the VCDR of 1961 and the Vienna Convention on Consular Relations (VCCR) of 1963 and they both adhered to the Optional Protocols, which provide for the "compulsory jurisdiction of the Court in matters arising out of the interpretation of each convention."[58] Therefore, Italy could challenge India's decision by referring the case to the International Court of Justice (ICJ), as the United States did in 1979 for its diplomatic personnel held hostage at the embassy in Tehran.[59] However, Italy decided not to take the matter to the ICJ and replaced its ambassador in New Delhi with Luigi Angeloni.[60]

The Italian Diplomatic Mission in Libya

On September 11, 2012, the US consulate in Benghazi was attacked and four US citizens, including the US ambassador to Benghazi, Christopher Stevens,

were killed.[61] The situation in Libya was particularly worrisome for Italy as the European country with the largest economic and security interests at stake. Before the onset of the Libyan civil war and of NATO's Operation Unified Protector (OUP), which eventually led to the ousting and killing of Colonel Muammar Gaddafi,[62] Italy had sought to stabilize and tighten its bilateral relationship with Libya. Particularly noteworthy in this regard was the signing of the Treaty on Friendship, Partnership and Cooperation (TFPC) in August 2008.[63] Under the provisions of the treaty, Libyan grievances against Italian colonialism were finally set aside. In exchange, Italy committed itself to funding key infrastructure projects within the agreed limits of $5 billion over twenty years. Libya reciprocated by offering to cooperate on matters regarding the flow of illegal immigrants into Italy through the central Mediterranean.[64]

However, Italy reluctantly contributed to NATO's OUP. Given the importance of Libya for migration management and energy security, contributing to the post-conflict stabilization of the country was crucial to Italy, which remains the biggest foreign investor in Tripoli's extractive industry. However, maintaining a diplomatic presence in the unpredictable context following the overthrow of Gaddafi proved problematic. Four months after the 2012 attack on the US consulate, Guido De Sanctis—the Italian consul in Benghazi—was also attacked. Several shots were fired at the motorcade escorting the diplomat, but the car carrying the consul was armored, thus ensuring De Sanctis survived the attack. While it did not have any major consequences, this episode contributed to bringing the issue of security for Italian diplomatic personnel abroad to broader public attention. Conscious of the dangerous situation in Benghazi, La Farnesina had proceeded to reinforce the security measures for De Sanctis prior to the attack, when Italy was the only Western European country with an open consulate in Benghazi after the murder of the US ambassador Christopher Stevens. Italian ambassador Giuseppe Buccino Grimaldi said in an interview, "We decided to keep the consulate open, [and] we have reinforced the security of our Consul Guido De Sanctis. . . . We want to maintain our presence in Libya."[65]

While the collapse of the rule of law occurred after 2011, which magnified threats to the safety of diplomatic personnel in Libya to an unprecedented level, the attack on Consul Guido De Sanctis was not the first one. In February 2006, Libyan citizens stormed the Italian consulate in Libya after an Italian minister wore a t-shirt showing a caricature of the prophet Mohammed. Eleven people died during that attack and the consulate was temporarily

closed.[66] In February 2015, the Italian embassy in Tripoli was temporarily closed again, and Italian diplomats had to be escorted out of the country by paratroopers from the 1st Regiment Carabinieri Tuscania.[67]

The Bombing of the Italian Consulate in Cairo

On July 11, 2015, a car bomb was exploded in front of the Italian consulate in Cairo. This episode renewed attention to the need for increased protection of Italian diplomatic offices abroad.[68] In an interview following the attack, Ambassador Antonio Armellini stressed the need to invest more resources in the physical security of Italian diplomatic representations abroad in order to prevent them from becoming easy targets for terrorist attacks.[69] According to Italian minister of foreign affairs Paolo Gentiloni, the attack in Egypt was not against Italy as such, but against Italy's partnership with Egypt in the fight against terrorism.[70] An Arab expert based at the Brookings Institution in Washington, DC, reinforced this point as he asserted "I don't think it was about Italy specifically, I think it was about a Western country."[71] La Farnesina reacted to this incident by increasing the security of its premises in Rome in the first instance.[72] This became a political issue in Italy as a member of the populist political party known as Movimento 5 Stelle (5 Star Movement), Maria Elena Spadoni, complained that the money should be spent to increase the security of embassies abroad rather than the security of the ministry building in Rome.[73] It remains to be seen whether the attack on the consulate will result in an enhancement of security for the consulate in Cairo and for other Italian offices abroad. Foreign Minister Gentiloni asserted that a plan to enhance the security of diplomatic offices in Cairo was being studied following the Egyptian police report that one of the attackers was an ISIS militant.[74]

Conclusion

Due to its sensitive nature, information about Italy's security arrangements to protect its offices abroad, especially in conflict zones, largely remains secret. The need to increase the security of Italian diplomatic personnel abroad is both an opaque and a politically sensitive issue due to the salience of the political debate surrounding the alleged preferential treatment enjoyed by Italian diplomats abroad. The fact that Italy has suffered from attacks against its diplomatic premises in the recent years, however, makes an academic discussion of the subject timely and important.

The Italian response to the increasing exposure of its diplomatic posts abroad to the likelihood of attacks and threats to its diplomatic offices has varied according to the circumstances. On the one hand, Italy has a clear system in place for the protection of its diplomatic corps. The presence of the Carabinieri, and in particular the specially trained Seconda Brigata Mobile tasked with providing static and mobile security, shows this. Yet, Italy has also resorted to PMSCs twice in recent years in conflict zones such as Iraq and Somalia. Where Italian diplomats have been targeted, such as in Benghazi in 2013 and in Cairo in 2015, La Farnesina has ordered security measures to be enhanced, but the long-term consequences of this move are still unclear. Italy has not been the main target of the attacks perpetrated in Libya and Egypt. However, its active contribution to the military missions carried out in the post-9/11 period, such as in Iraq, Afghanistan, and Libya, has made Italian diplomatic posts a more likely target for terrorist groups holding grievances against the West in general. This brings about the need to enhance diplomatic security and Italy is no exception.

The importance of effective diplomatic security arrangements has been acknowledged domestically, but has nonetheless generated an intense political debate. While there are increasing calls to enhance diplomatic security, the alleged privileges of Italian diplomats abroad have been heavily criticized. Moreover, investing resources in diplomacy in general and diplomatic protection specifically has proved to be a difficult undertaking in times of recession, especially in light of the review of expenditures that began in 2014. For a country with the fourth largest diplomatic network in the world, which since the end of the Cold War has sought to conduct a proactive foreign policy and has not refrained from deploying diplomatic personnel in fragile and conflict-ridden areas, the need to allocate resources to its diplomatic security appears more pressing than ever.

Notes

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8 Diplomatic Security as Counterterrorism

Protecting Israel's Diplomatic Missions

Barak Ben Zur

Introduction

Israel's embassies, consulates, and official delegations have been frequently chosen as targets for violent attacks by a variety of armed factions, including Palestinian terrorist organizations, Iranian secret services, and groups and individuals linked to al-Qaeda and ISIS. Diplomatic missions are only a portion of a much larger pool of Israeli civilian organizations abroad targeted as a part of a terrorist campaign against the state of Israel.[1] For this reason, the Israeli state has established a single overarching approach against this violent campaign, choosing the Israeli Security Agency (ISA) as the leading organization in countering attacks against both diplomatic missions and civilian objectives such as religious sites, airliners, and other venues where a large number of Israeli citizens can be found.

The ISA—where I worked between 1996 and 2007 as the head of the research division, tasked with assessing Palestinian and other terrorist threats to the state of Israel—is responsible for both counterterrorism inside Israel and the defense of official sites, senior officials, and delegations abroad. The Israeli approach to diplomatic security is unique in its use of an intelligence service dedicated to countering terrorism both inside Israel and abroad, and in its combination of intelligence gathering with the conduct of operational security tasks within the same organization, whose director reports directly to the prime minister. This approach ensures intelligence sharing, full coordination between relevant government agencies, and a rapid response to

threats.[2] This chapter seeks to answer the following research questions: What led the Israeli government to the decision to place diplomatic security in the hands of the Israeli Security Agency? And what are the advantages and weaknesses of tasking an intelligence agency like the ISA with the responsibility for conducting diplomatic security abroad?

This chapter, based on archival research and interviews with Israeli officials as well as my own personal experience, analyzes the Israeli approach to diplomatic security through the following steps. The first three sections analyze the evolution of Israeli diplomatic security from the creation of the state of Israel to the present day. The fourth section examines diplomatic security today. The Conclusion summarizes the main findings of the chapter, recapping the approach adopted by Israel to counter past, present, and future diplomatic security challenges.

Israeli Diplomatic Security and Counterterrorism Policies: The Early Years

From the very beginning of the Palestinian armed struggle, the international arena was deliberately chosen as a battlefield against the state of Israel after the disappointments experienced during the 1947–1949 period, when the first Israeli-Palestinian conflict saw the defeat of Arab militaries by the newly established Israeli Defense Forces.

One of the first initiatives was that by the terrorist leader George Habash, at the time a student at the American University in Beirut.[3] In 1948 Habash, together with other Palestinian students, founded the Kateib, a secret group dedicated to assassinating Arab leaders who accepted the existence of the state of Israel.[4] The group planned to attack Western and Israeli diplomatic entities, provoking incidents in order to push Arab states into restarting hostilities against the Israeli military.[5] The group carried out this strategy by attacking a Jewish school in Beirut, a synagogue in Damascus, and the American and British embassies in Syria and Lebanon.[6]

The Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), led by the same George Habash, carried out the first terror attack of its kind against Israel, consisting in the hijacking of an Israeli airliner en route from Rome to Tel Aviv on July 22, 1968. The national carrier and above all the diplomatic corps—considered a priority—were chosen by Palestinian terrorist organizations as their main target due to their vulnerability, their symbolic importance, and the wide international resonance an attack against them would provoke.[7] In

the period between the first attacks and the one that took place on July 1968, however, Palestinian armed groups focused their efforts within Israel's borders. According to intelligence reports produced by the Israeli Defense Forces, while such domestic strikes were numerous, there were no warnings of attacks being prepared by Palestinian groups against Israeli targets abroad.[8]

One of the first official documents referring to the establishment of an Israeli foreign ministry dates to January 9, 1948, four months before the declaration of independence. The draft—which fleshed out the structure of the new foreign ministry—also addressed the issue of security. Its focus, however, was the secrecy of information. As it was argued, "without trained personnel and a properly understood security system, no foreign office can work effectively."[9] The screening of future employees was therefore considered paramount. The document also referred to the need for the Israeli parliament to pass a "secrets act" in the early stage of its legislative work.[10] The draft also recommended the appointment by the director general of a chief security officer, whose first responsibility was defining the security regulations for the foreign office headquarters in Israel and the delegations and facilities abroad. In the first two decades of Israel's existence, the security officers serving abroad were indeed responsible for the security of Israeli diplomatic sites. Their first tasks included matters such as transportation, building maintenance, and the supervision of contractors working for diplomatic missions. In addition to these duties, the security officer was also responsible for organizing the guarding of embassy buildings.[11]

Overall, however, official documents did not give much attention to diplomatic security issues. The first report written by a government inspector general on the functioning of the Foreign Office—dated January 22, 1951—is a case in point. The report pointed to a variety of issues concerning the functioning of the office but did not focus on the security of diplomatic sites. The appointed inspector general visited most of the Israeli diplomatic delegations in Europe. His main findings related to security and intelligence stressed the lack of contact between security services and foreign intelligence services,[12] both of which worked out of the embassy without coordinating their efforts. This situation reflected the relationship between the services at home.

While this could indirectly affect the security of Israel's diplomatic delegations, at the time there was no information regarding possible threats against the security of Israeli diplomatic representatives abroad. In that period, the Israeli Security Agency focused on Jewish terrorist groups that objected to

the reparation agreement with Germany. Three months after the explosion of a bomb in Munich on March 28, 1952, and a second, failed, attack in Amsterdam on April 1, 1952, foiled by the local police, a team of ISA agents succeeded in derailing a third plot, aimed at assassinating the German chancellor Konrad Adenauer.[13] The operational division of the ISA was, at the time, the only unit operating abroad in the Israeli intelligence community, and it used embassies as its base and working office.

Jewish terrorist groups also threatened foreign diplomats and officials operating in Israel. Soviet and Eastern bloc diplomats were especially targeted in response to the persecution of Jews by the Soviet regime. An attempt to detonate a bomb near the Czechoslovakian embassy in Tel Aviv occurred on November 1952. The most significant terrorist attack, however, took place against the Soviet embassy. The incident, which took place on February 9, 1953, included the detonation of an explosive device that injured three embassy employees and severely damaged the building.[14] The ISA conducted an investigation into the incident, discovering and bringing to justice the group responsible for carrying out the attack. The lessons learned from the incident, however, did not affect the security arrangements of Israeli installations abroad, as attacks conducted in Israel were considered isolated incidents unique to the domestic arena.

This assumption was reflected in the Foreign Office's attitude toward the chief security officer, who was considered as an administrative rather than an operational official. There even were senior officials who questioned the necessity of such a position. This skepticism was reflected in a letter written by the head of the Foreign Office Human Resources Department, who complained about the security officer's tour abroad and his allegedly excessive expenses. The human resources director claimed that the money spent by the security officer could be used to pay an employee's salary for one year, adding that the very fact that the security officer had spent three months away from his office raised doubts about the position's relevance and necessity.[15] In an official publication of that period, the ISA pointed to three security domains it was responsible for during the second decade after it had been established: the personal protection of the prime minister and other senior ministers, the security of sensitive official installations in Israel, and the security of classified information in sensitive governmental offices.[16] The protection of diplomatic premises abroad was notably absent.

On April 19, 1964, the government of Israel published its first directive referring to diplomats' and other government employees' security, followed

by a second, complementary directive detailing the government's decision.[17] The directive included a definition of classified information and instructions on how to handle such information and avoid leaks. There was also a chapter on the physical protection of ministry personnel and sites. The duties and missions of security officers included issues of employee integrity, protecting office equipment and assets, and responsibility for passive defense and firefighting.[18]

Another aspect of this issue emerged in the report of a commission of inquiry of the Israeli intelligence community, forwarded to Prime Minister Levi Eshkol on July 31, 1963. The commission looked in-depth at the work of the Israeli intelligence services and gave some recommendations concerning their future activities. Referring to the ISA, the commission said that this organization should maintain in its present structure and function.[19] The commission recommended that responsibility for intelligence evaluation—at the time carried out by military intelligence—be shared with the Foreign Office, arguing that providing the foreign minister with a second opinion would contribute to the quality of the decision-making process. Terrorist threats, including those targeting Foreign Office delegations and personnel abroad, however, were not included in this joint intelligence evaluation.[20]

Palestinian Armed Groups after the June 1967 War

The attack on an Israeli airliner on July 22, 1968, mentioned in the preceding section, came as a complete surprise to the Israeli authorities. A letter from Prime Minister Eshkol on July 23, a day after the attack, clearly illustrates that the Israeli security services had no real measures in place to forestall attacks of this kind. In his letter, the prime minister instructed ISA's director, Joseph Hermelin, to head a professional committee that would draw up recommendations on measures Israel should carry out to protect the national carrier, El Al. At the same time, nominating the ISA director as the commission's chairperson pointed to the prime minister's determination of who he believed should lead the inquiry into the attack, and what protective measures needed to be taken.[21]

The ISA took on responsibility for improving protective measures on El Al planes, taking a comprehensive approach that included the onboard presence of armed guards trained to respond to any attempted hijacking.[22] The ISA's

operational division took responsibility for training, developing tactics, writing security procedures, and providing technical measures.[23]

The Israeli security establishment soon had to go through the same experience of being caught unprepared by Palestinian armed groups' terror attacks. The intelligence community gave no early warning about the possibility of major strikes on Israeli's overseas targets such as the attack against the national Olympic team at the Munich Olympic Games in 1972, and the takeover of the Israeli mission in Bangkok on December 28, 1972, when four Palestinian Black September terrorists stormed into the Israeli embassy. The attackers successfully took over the embassy, holding the ambassador and five other embassy personnel hostage. The security officer, armed with a revolver, did not react to the attack, but instead lay down together with those he should have protected. The terrorists escaped after a deal was secured with the local authorities that received significant coverage in the international media.[24]

The Israeli security establishment, however, had the opportunity to learn from previous attacks about Palestinian armed groups' intentions and strategies. On May 22, 1969, the security authorities in Copenhagen arrested three members of the Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) and charged them with plotting to assassinate the former Israeli prime minister David Ben-Gurion. In a second incident, on August 18, 1969, the PFLP claimed responsibility for several bombs that were found and dismantled inside the Israeli government tourist office in the Danish capital.[25]

After these unsuccessful attempts to hit Israeli representatives and diplomatic sites abroad, a new lethal campaign was organized. The campaign began on September 8, 1969, with a coordinated attack—using bombs and grenades—against the Israeli embassies in The Hague and Bonn, and the Brussels office of Israel's El Al airline. On May 4, 1970, two armed Palestinians broke into the office of the Israeli consulate in Asuncion, Paraguay, killing an Israeli secretary and injuring a local worker. On May 23, 1971, the body of the Israeli consul general in Istanbul, Ephraim Elrom, was found bound and shot. The body was found in an apartment close to his residence where he had been abducted in May by a local Turkish underground group.[26] These terrorist attacks, along with the killings of the Israeli representatives abroad, attracted much attention to the need for effective security provisions, thereby leading to an improvement of diplomatic protective arrangements. Consequently, armed guards were first deployed to diplomatic delegations abroad.[27]

The Munich terror attack accelerated the reorganization of the Foreign Office security unit and its policies. The preparations and establishment of such a unit had just begun when the attack on the embassy in Bangkok occurred, catching the security unit still in the middle of the reform process. The change that took place in the Foreign Office security unit months later was personally supervised by Prime Minister Golda Meir.[28]

The terrorist attack on the Israeli Olympic team in Munich offered an opportunity to examine the relationship between the ISA and the Israeli Foreign Office. Prior to the attack, the Israeli intelligence community received thirty-eight alerts, but few of them related to the Black September terrorist group that ultimately carried out the attack.[29] In hindsight, however, this information should have been treated more seriously, and appropriate protective measures should have been taken.

On September 13, 1972, the government of Israel appointed an inquiry committee, headed by the former inspector general of the police, to examine the issue of the security of the Olympic delegation.[30] The main conclusion of the committee was that the ISA should continue to lead security operations abroad and be endowed with greater resources and capabilities.[31] To that end, the inquiry recommended the creation of a new unit in ISA's Security Division to be exclusively responsible for security abroad.[32]

The Israeli government and the Foreign Affairs and Security Committee of the Israeli parliament discussed the inquiry committee's report extensively. All ministries claimed they lacked the capability or expertise to lead external security operations, which further suggested that the ISA should remain the sole organization responsible for performing this role. During her appearance before the Foreign Affairs Committee on October 9, 1972, Prime Minister Meir explained some of the difficulties the ISA was facing in implementing diplomatic security measures abroad, arguing that "we have to take in consideration the limits and restrictions on every security operation aimed at securing sites, installations and officials abroad. We are depending on the support provided by the host country. The Israeli security authorities normally have no permission to conduct security operations on the territory of another country."[33] As the prime minister was directly responsible for the ISA's activities, she had the authority to arrange these matters with the leaders of other countries at a bilateral level to enable the ISA to fulfill its mission. The leeway obtained, however, was limited. National governments preferred to use their own security services even when the Israeli intelligence services supplied

them with information about possible terrorist attacks, but local law enforcement authorities' response to such threats was often limited and ineffective.[34]

The government's Decision 411 dated January 26, 1975, contained five pages of instructions clarifying the responsibilities of the Israeli police and Israeli security services concerning guarding and protecting sensitive sites and delegations. The ISA continued in its role as the major authority responsible for protecting the Foreign Office, Defense Office, and the country's leading maritime industries and aviation companies, as well as Israel's international airports.[35] The ISA's responsibilities included developing security doctrine, defining procedures, and forwarding specific instructions concerning the unique conditions of every facility. It was also responsible for training security officers and appointing chief security officers. Indeed, the supervision of the security system remained the responsibility solely of the ISA.[36] The gathering of intelligence and its translation into practical measures were also clearly the ISA's responsibility. Its role also included issuing terrorist alerts/information and making sure that the units responsible for security were responding properly to such alerts, especially when the threat of attack was high.[37]

One of the last significant attempts to attack an Israeli diplomat perpetrated by a Palestinian armed group took place in London on June 4, 1982, when the Israeli ambassador to Britain, Shlomo Argov, was shot in the head and seriously wounded. In response to the attack, Israel launched a military operation against the Palestinian armed groups operating in Lebanon. Israel achieved one of the main goals of this operation by driving the Palestinian Liberation leadership out of Lebanon, forcing them to relocate to Tunis.[38] From their new location, the Palestinian leadership started emphasizing building diplomatic support for their cause. However, terror attacks—probably by Palestinian opposition groups and other hostile elements—continued: a car bomb exploded near the Israeli embassy in Cyprus on May 12, 1988, killing three people including the driver. On July 26, 1994, and the day after two car bombs exploded in London, the first near the Israeli embassy and the second near Balfour House, which houses Jewish charity associations. This new strategy conducted by the main Palestinian camp is arguably one of the reasons why attacks against Israel's foreign representations ceased. Blatant violations of the diplomatic inviolability norm such as terrorist attacks against Israeli diplomatic missions began to be seen as detrimental to building support for Palestinian independence within the international community and were therefore discontinued.[39]

Israeli Diplomatic Delegations in Egypt and Jordan after the Peace Treaty

The Israeli peace treaty with Egypt, signed in Washington, DC, on March 26, 1979, concluded a chapter of interim agreements and understandings following the October 1973 War.[40] The peace treaty—at least from the Israeli side—was considered a sign that the security situation in the country would improve. The reaction of some extremists among the Egyptian population, however, was different. The Israeli minister of foreign affairs, Yitzhak Shamir, expressed some frustration in a debate in the Israeli parliament, referring to terrorist attacks against Israeli diplomats serving in Cairo and Israeli tourists.[41] Attacks against Israeli diplomats in Egypt continue to this day. During the riots after the resignation of President Mubarak of Egypt on September 9, 2011, a mob broke into the Israeli embassy building after storming the external wall. The crowd took over the building, destroying equipment and furniture, throwing official documents out of the windows, and setting fire to the Israeli flags.[42] The members of the Israeli delegation hid in a safe room protected by a steel door. Egyptian special forces succeeded in rescuing them in an operation that involved the personal intervention of US president Barack Obama.[43]

Jordan, which signed a peace treaty with Israel in 1994, has an even more difficult relationship with Israel than Egypt, as most Jordanians citizens are of Palestinian origin. The friction between Israel and the Palestinians in both the Gaza Strip and the West Bank directly affects the political situation in the kingdom. Violent incidents and disputes over religious places sacred to Islam and Judaism are often used by Jordanian extremist groups or individuals to justify acts of violence against Israeli targets and symbols in the Jordanian capital. In recent years, King Abdullah's support for US efforts to fight terrorism in the Middle East has also encouraged terrorist attacks against Israeli objectives in Jordan.[44] For instance, a local worker in the residence of one of the Israeli diplomats in Amman in July 2017 was shot and killed when he tried to stab an Israeli security officer. The Jordanian house owner, caught in the line of fire, was also killed. In response, the Jordanian government expelled the Israeli ambassador until March 2018.[45]

The ability to detect terrorist plots is the key factor in Israel's decision to tighten its security arrangements abroad. Awareness that an attack is impending will result in further risk evaluation. In cases of grave and credible

threats, the ISA will recommend issuing an evacuation order, or putting in place standby rescue plans. The security and safety of diplomatic personal are always the government's priority, even at the price of putting other Foreign Office issues on the backburner. This was the outcome of December 2016 assessment conducted by the ISA authorities, which saw the withdrawal of the Israeli diplomatic team in Cairo.[46]

Iran's Secret War, Hezbollah, and the Global Jihad

The Iranian secret service, or groups affiliated with it, is likely to have supported or directly conducted most of the attacks on Israeli diplomats or Israeli and Jewish sites abroad in the last three decades. One of the most significant attacks on Israeli diplomatic sites that is usually associated with the Iranians' secret service and the Lebanese movement Hezbollah is the destruction of the Israeli embassy in Buenos Aires, Argentina. The attack, conducted by a car bomber on March 17, 1992, killed twenty-nine people and injured hundreds. The attack followed the launching of a hand grenade against a Jewish synagogue in Istanbul on March 1, 1992, and the murder of an Israeli diplomat in Ankara by an explosive device under his car on March 7, 1992. All three attacks were probably part of an Iranian-Hezbollah retaliation campaign against the Israeli targeting of the Hezbollah leader Abbas Mussavi on February 16, 1992.[47] Two years after the above-mentioned strikes, another attack in Thailand was thwarted by the local police when they pulled over a truck laden with explosives on its way to carrying out an attack on the Israeli embassy in Bangkok. The terrorists fled the scene immediately after the police approached them.[48]

Unable to deter the Israeli government from acting against its interests in the Middle East, Iran preferred to retaliate indirectly by backing Palestinian armed groups or using Hezbollah's military branch. The option of carrying out direct attacks abroad remained the last resort. Former and current senior Israeli officials have been the preferred targets. In their absence, however, attacks have been concentrated on Jewish centers of culture, synagogues, and Israeli tourists.[49] The ability of the Iranian secret services and Hezbollah to easily move around the world, however, was limited by the 9/11 attacks, which brought about a new global awareness and greater readiness to counter terrorism. Importantly, information sharing between the different intelligence and security services around the world made it increasingly

difficult for the Iranians and Hezbollah to attack Israeli targets outside of the country.[50]

The targeting of Israeli citizens by al-Qaeda and other Jihadist groups, however, meant such attacks continued. In Kenya, two surface-to-air missiles barely missed an Israeli airliner on November 28, 2002. On the same day, two suicide bombers attacked the Hotel Paradise—where a group of Israeli tourists were staying—claiming the lives of sixteen people and injuring eighty. Three of the perpetrators had participated in the attack against the American embassies in Kenya and Tanzania in August 1998.[51] A second, similar attack took place in Mumbai, India. Members of the Muslim armed group Lashkar-e-Taiba attacked two hotels and a Jewish Chabad center on November 26, 2008. The ten gunmen were militarily well trained and thus able to hold out against Indian security forces for sixty hours.[52]

Israeli Diplomatic Security Today

As explained above, the ISA has been invested with the main responsibility for the protection of senior Israeli governmental members, official delegations, and diplomatic personnel and sites abroad since the creation of the state of Israel. Diplomatic protection is directly provided through the Security Division of the ISA. The Security Department of the Foreign Office fully cooperates with ISA's Security Division, responding to its intelligence alerts and operational instructions.[53]

ISA's Security Division developed from the Operations Division in a process that brought the operational way of thinking of the latter into security operations. The Operations Division contributed to diplomatic security with its skills, tactics, special measures, and well-trained personnel. The first directors of the Security Division were former operational staff too. Hence, counterterrorism operational skills are not unique to the commanders' level but can be found in security personnel as well, who are often former soldiers who severed in special units and have combat experience and the ability to function under pressure and under gunfire. In some cases, security officers have succeeded in foiling terrorist attacks by themselves.[54]

Besides being responsible for security doctrine and procedures, the ISA also established a security-training center. The ISA's security personnel and security officers from other government security departments now conduct their protective tasks based on methods and tactics developed there. The aim

of this unified training is to achieve a general level of ability to provide protection and to create a flexible pool of skilled security personnel.

Even though the Security Department of the Foreign Office reports to the office's general manager, primary responsibility for security remains with the ISA. One of the measures to implement this responsibility is the use of a regional inspector appointed by the ISA, who is responsible for conducting routine and surprise inspections, and reporting the outcome to the ISA Security Division. These comprehensive inspections include testing the professional ability and skills of local security personnel.[55] The regional inspector's duties include visits to and inspections of diplomatic delegations' buildings, but also diplomats' residence, their children's schools, and the routes they travel on a daily basis. Supervisors check how the security system is functioning and whether individuals are following the regulations and responding to the most recent terrorist alerts.[56] The inspector's authority extends to recommending and instructing local security officers on appropriate changes to their physical protection and security plans. He may also be required to take on responsibility for ensuring local security requirements, based on his own experience or by briefing senior managers at ISA headquarters who will then ensure such requirements are implemented.[57]

The regional inspector is also responsible for attending security exercises, participating in the evaluation of performance and reporting the performance and shortcomings of the local teams to headquarters. Inspections also include checking facilities and protection measures and equipment used by the security staff. In cases of violations of procedures, irregular events, or incidents, the regional inspector is the first to conduct an inquiry unless ISA headquarters decides to set up a special inquiry commission.[58]

The personnel allocated to security duties differ from site to site depending on the size of the delegation, the effectiveness of the local security services, and the reliability of their cooperation with the Israeli authorities. The main factor governing the number of security personnel is the kind of threats diplomatic delegations are likely to face. Based on such a threat assessment, the number of security personal can range from one security officer accompanied by a small number of security employees to a large team comprising two or three dozen security officers and local security staff. The Foreign Office Security Department also maintains a standby security team that can be deployed to any site if intelligence indicates the likelihood of an attack. One of the most important elements determining the magnitude of Israel's direct involvement

in the provision of diplomatic security is the degree to which local security agencies cooperate in protecting Israeli government property and officials in their country. This is especially important in Arab countries that face political instability.[59]

The ISA Security Division operates a permanent control room that continuously updates the threat level worldwide, operated jointly with other states' intelligence services to help foil terrorist attacks. This joint situational awareness effort demonstrates Israel's attempt to engage terrorist threats by means of a synergy of different government agencies. The Security Division staff is responsible for updating procedures and adapting new anti-terrorist measures based on evolving terrorist attacks and the methods and weapons they employ.[60]

This approach allows the ISA headquarters to reinforce security personnel in response to changes in the evaluation of threats and risks. The evaluation process takes place inside the Foreign Office Security Department, in the ISA's Security Division, and under the authority of the ISA's director. The purpose of the assessments is to identify threats and decide how to respond. The advantage of this approach is that the ISA is responsible for the evaluation of intelligence reports and is able to instruct other members of the intelligence community to widen their intelligence gathering efforts. In some cases, if intelligence reports point to an imminent attack, the ISA director can immediately update the prime minister and at the same time ask for additional measures if they are needed.[61]

The Foreign Office's budget for 2014 was 441 million US dollars. The office provides 63 million US dollars in funding for diplomatic security, approximately 14 percent of the office's entire budget. The security budget grew by 12.5 percent compared to 2004, a relatively modest increase. To keep security allocations at the same level but reduce its budgetary share, the Foreign Office may ask other governmental departments operating in the embassy, and thus enjoying the protection provided by the Security Department, to share the cost of providing security for the embassy.[62]

Conclusions

Israeli diplomatic delegations are a target for various armed groups that see attacking Israeli diplomatic sites and personnel as an extension of the violent campaign between Israel and its foes. While some Palestinians have

abandoned this strategy, Iran and Hezbollah, and other terrorist organizations, still consider attacks against diplomatic posts as a viable option. To improve Israeli diplomatic security effectiveness without taking up too many personnel and financial resources, the Security Division of the ISA and the Security Department of the Foreign Office rely on timely intelligence, accurate threat assessment, and tight cooperation with local security services.

Increased information sharing brought about by the war on terrorism and the greater speed and efficiency in the prosecution of attacks against diplomatic targets has substantially contributed to increasing the security of Israeli diplomatic premises and personnel. Moreover, by drawing lessons from lethal attacks abroad, the ISA—responsible for both preventing terrorism inside Israel and securing Israeli government targets abroad—has substantially improved its intelligence gathering and diplomatic security capabilities. Consequently, while Israeli diplomatic premises and personnel abroad remain very sensitive targets, their overall vulnerability is likely to have decreased over the last few years.

Notes

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3. Nathanael Cohen, *The Popular Front and the Democratic Front, 1967–1974* (Haifa: University of Haifa, 1984), 4 (Hebrew); Hanan Alon, *Countering Palestinian Terrorism in Israel: Toward a Policy Analysis of Countermeasures* (Santa Monica, CA: Rand, 1980), 54–56.

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MFA/ForeignPolicy/Terrorism/Palestinian/Pages/Major%20Terror%20Attacks%20against%20Israeli%20Embassies%20and.aspx.

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10. Ibid., 11.

11. Avram Rotem, senior director of the Security Division, 1972–1993 (Tel Aviv, personal interview, January 30, 2014); Alon, *Countering Palestinian Terrorism in Israel*, 68, 81.

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13. Issar Harel, *Security and Democracy* (Tel Aviv: Edanim, 1989), 191–92 (Hebrew).

14. Ibid., 193–98.

15. Israel State Archives, Personal letter to general manager Mr. Vollter Eitan from Human Resources director S. Amir, Foreign Office, February 17, 1954 (Hebrew).

16. Israel Security Agency, official internet site, "ISA History during the Second Decade, 1957–1967," shabak.gov.il.

17. Israel State Archives, Ministers' meeting with Prime Minister Meir on the implications of the Inquiry Commission Report, October 1, 1972 (Hebrew); ibid., October 7, 1972, container 4079/10, 5, 8, (Hebrew).

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19. Israel State Archives, "Inquiry Commission Report on the Israeli Intelligence Community," July 31, 1963, 3 (Hebrew).

20. Ibid., 4.

21. Prime Minister's Office, Letter of appointment of Security Measures Committee, July 23, 1968 (Hebrew).

22. Documentary program on the security of Israeli National Airlines, 2007, http://www.youtube.com/watch?feature=player_embedded&v=NrVtEgceLwc# (Hebrew). In this documentary, security people, pilots, and the general manager of El Al tell the story of the development of security measures.

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33. Israel State Archives, Prime Minister Golda Meir's testimony before the Israeli Parliament Foreign Affairs and Security Committee, October 9, 1972, container 7056/10 (Hebrew).

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9 Turkish Diplomatic Security

Lessons Not Learned

Egemen B. Bezci

Introduction

On June 11, 2014, the notorious terrorist organization known as ISIL (Islamic State in Iraq and Levant) attacked the Turkish consulate in Mosul, taking hostage forty-nine people (including children) who were present. Immediately after the kidnapping, a large-scale public discussion of Ankara's diplomatic security weaknesses and failures took place in the Turkish media. Some suggested that only strategic blindness could explain Ankara's failure to evacuate its consulate in Iraq after several armed attacks against the mission had already taken place.[1] Fortunately, as a result of a coordinated operation between the Turkish Foreign Ministry, National Intelligence Agency, and the Special Forces, the Turkish envoys and their dependents were freed unharmed from ISIL's captivity on September 20, 2014, almost three weeks after their kidnapping. Due to the success of the operation, public attention shifted away from discussing Ankara's diplomatic security. Scant attention was paid even to the fact that ISIL continued to use the compound of the evacuated Turkish consulate as its regional base until coalition air strikes destroyed it two years later on April 4, 2016.[2] What are the institutional and political structures shaping Turkish diplomatic policy? What are the flaws in Turkish diplomatic security policies, and is there a pattern behind these flaws?

In spite of its growing importance, Turkish diplomatic security has hitherto remained an unexplored academic topic. As a rapidly emerging international power that has suffered from a large number of terrorist attacks,

Turkey is an important case for the study of the drivers and obstacles of diplomatic security policies. This chapter attempts to lay the groundwork for future debates on Turkish diplomatic protection. By doing so, the chapter will reveal that the inadequacy of Ankara's diplomatic security arrangements does not stem from the emergence of new threats such as terrorism and cyber-espionage, nor is it solely associated with the expanding scope of Turkish diplomacy, increasingly active in high-risk areas. On the contrary, this study argues that inadequate diplomatic security has been a chronic problem in Ankara's foreign policy. This weakness is primarily due to the lack of an effective foreign policy bureaucracy capable of implementing all the measures required to secure Turkish diplomatic personnel and premises abroad. Inter-agency and intra-agency rivalries and competing informal networks within Ankara's highly politicized security bureaucracy further add to this weakness

In order to elaborate on the nature of Turkish diplomatic security, this chapter first provides an overview of the current status of the Turkish diplomatic missions abroad. This overview draws attention to the fact that over the last two decades the scope, role, and coverage of Turkish diplomacy have dramatically changed. Yet, Turkish diplomatic security policies have not been strengthened accordingly. Second, the chapter outlines the Cold War origins of the Turkish diplomatic security apparatus. It documents the espionage campaign conducted against Turkish embassies by both the Soviet Union and Ankara's own allies. The physical vulnerability of Turkish diplomatic posts to terrorist attacks during the Cold War claimed the lives of forty-two diplomats and their dependents. The chapter's last section shows that most of the Cold War weaknesses of Turkish diplomatic security have survived until today. Indeed, security vulnerabilities have increased due to the further politicization of bureaucratic institutions and the growing risks arising from operating in high-risk areas.

In the wake of the failed coup of July 15, 2016, freedom of access to Turkish official government documents has been restricted. This notwithstanding, the chapter will provide an in-depth examination of both the history and present state of Turkish diplomatic security.

Being Present in Every Corner of the World

Turkey has 234 diplomatic missions around the globe, with 1,202 career diplomats serving at home and abroad.[3] Turkey's diplomatic presence has mushroomed over the last two decades, making it a partly unique case study.

This dramatic expansion of Turkey's diplomatic presence and its growing foreign policy activism have been prompted by a new notion of Turkey's role on the world stage formulated by the Justice and Development Party (AKP), which has been in power since 2002. Ekrem Başer's recent study of Turkish foreign policy before and during the AKP government notes that "the roles expressed by the AKP leadership imply greater foreign policy activism compared to those expressed by the other governments."[4] This increased activism does not stem solely from a self-attributed neo-Ottomanism that seeks to project Turkish influence in the former territories of the empire.[5] Nor is it exclusively the outcome of a mercantilist attempt to reach out to boost Turkey's economic growth by engaging with new markets.[6] Consistent with Palmer and Morgan's "two-good theory" of foreign policy, current Turkish foreign policy has sought to combine the pursuit of both economic and security interests. The growth of Turkey's economic and political power over the last two decades has enabled Ankara to broaden the scope and ambitions of its foreign policy.[7] The Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs has underscored such ambitions by pointing out that Ankara's foreign policy aims for mediation, humanitarian and sustainable peace-building in Africa and the Middle East, and making Turkey a hub for economic and energy transportation activities. Aside from its conventional duties of managing economic and diplomatic relations, Turkish diplomatic activities include engaging in humanitarian assistance and conflict resolution. This concept, known as "humanitarian diplomacy," resonates with the US notion of expeditionary diplomacy, whereby diplomats engage in state-building activities in the host countries where they are deployed. Both concepts presuppose additional protective measures to thwart the security challenges stemming from their new duties.[8] Turkey's diplomatic security, however, appears inadequate to meet these challenges.

Ankara's humanitarian diplomacy has translated into the deployment of Turkish diplomats engaging in the conduct of relief operations in Somalia, Pakistan, Myanmar, and other areas embroiled in political violence. The increasing diversity of Turkish diplomatic engagements is related to Ankara's concept of Turkey's role in international affairs. According to Ahmet Davutoğlu, the ideologue of the AKP's foreign policy, Turkey seeks to be

> a compassionate and powerful state. One will be compassionate if one's conscience dictates where one should go and to whom one should reach, as can be seen from the examples of our aid to Somalia and Syrian refugees. At the

TABLE 3. Geographic distribution of Turkey's diplomatic missions, 2002 and 2015

	2002	2015
Europe	50%	39%
Asia	31%	29%
America	9%	12%
Africa	9%	18%
Oceania	2%	2%

same time, one will need to have power, in order to have the ability to reach where needed.[9]

The growing scope and diversity of Turkish foreign policy activities has led Turkish diplomats to undertake various peacekeeping, state-building, and humanitarian tasks. The geographical outreach of Turkey's diplomatic presence has also expanded. When the AKP came to power in 2002, Turkey had 163 delegations abroad. By the end of 2015, this number reached 234, a fifty percent increase.[10] Such an increase has translated into a larger diplomatic presence in Latin America and most notably Africa.

The diversification of Turkey's diplomatic presence worldwide reflects Ankara's goal of increasing its outreach to regions that were previously underrepresented in Turkish diplomacy. Moreover, the decrease in the share of European and Asian diplomatic missions indicates that the expansion of Turkey's diplomatic missions is not solely a response to the end of the Cold War, when a large number of former Soviet regions in Europe and Asia became independent. The increase in the ratio of the Turkish diplomatic missions in Africa epitomizes Turkey's new humanitarian diplomacy and self-image as a "savior of the oppressed." Hakan Fidan, director of the Turkish National Intelligence Agency, argues that an increased spectrum of tools is required for Turkish diplomats to conduct Ankara's foreign policy in troubled regions of the world.[11] These tools require a comprehensive approach based on close cooperation between the Turkish Foreign Ministry, the Turkish International Cooperation and Development Agency (TIKA), and the Turkish National Intelligence Agency (MIT). Indeed, the TIKA has been an essential tool in Turkish diplomatic missions, epitomized largely by investments in development aid.[12] Between 2002 and 2015, Turkey's foreign aid soared from only $67 million to $3.3 billion.[13] Contrary to Ankara's humanitarian rhetoric, recent studies suggest that the organizational pitfalls and ideological biases of

Turkish diplomacy have contributed to fueling conflict and unrest rather than promoting conflict resolution.[14]

Moreover, Turkey's diplomatic security challenges have been heightened by the mismatch between Ankara's actual capabilities and its far-reaching foreign policy ambitions. For instance, the Turkish diplomatic mission in Somalia's capital, Mogadishu, has recently become a frequent target for the terrorist organization al-Shabaab. In July 2013 and January 2015, al-Shabaab militants targeted the Turkish mission in this African country, leaving one Turkish policeman protecting the embassy dead and two others critically injured.[15]

Attacks on Turkish diplomatic missions, however, are far from new, and have not solely occurred in countries plagued by political unrest. An overview of Turkey's recent diplomatic history reveals that security has always been the weakest link in Turkish diplomatic activity, frequently raising concern among Turkey's allies. A historical examination of Turkey's diplomacy during the Cold War can provide important insights into Turkey's present diplomatic security shortcomings.

Espionage and Betrayal

Following the establishment of the modern state of Turkey in 1923, Ankara initially tried both to settle disputes remaining from its imperial era and to strengthen the young republic's position in the new international order. Turkish foreign policy then focused on conducting diplomatic relations with Western powers on an equal footing, while also obtaining the necessary economic and military aid to build the state apparatus. Since Turkish-Western relations were based on mutual security interests, Ankara used security cooperation as a bargaining tool in other areas of diplomatic relations with a view to pursuing its own national interests.[16]

In order to do so, Ankara had to establish suitable ways to protect both diplomatic personnel and sensitive information from hostile action. Due to Turkey's relatively weak defense and intelligence capabilities, however, addressing this challenge proved complex. Specifically, Turkey's diplomatic security was plagued by three problems. Firstly, Ankara's foreign policy bureaucracies lacked the training and standard operating procedures required to ensure the proper encryption of diplomatic communications. Secondly, and relatedly, the Turkish Foreign Ministry and its diplomatic missions during the Cold War were targets of espionage by Soviet bloc countries and Ankara's own allies.

Lastly, starting from the mid-1970s, the physical security of Turkey's diplomatic personnel and its posts were threatened by transnational networks of the country's domestic terrorist groups, which resulted in a large number of casualties among its diplomatic personnel.[17] In order to conduct a comprehensive analysis of the characteristics of Turkish diplomatic security today, each of these challenges has to be examined in detail.

Starting in April 1950, when Turkey was admitted to NATO, NATO's Security Committee commissioned the British Security Service to conduct surveys of the Turkish Foreign Office, military, and intelligence services, in order to ensure that security standards were adequate in preventing the Soviets from acquiring secret information through Turkey.[18] When Turkey joined the UK-sponsored regional security alliance known as the Baghdad Pact in 1955, the British found that Turkey's lack of secrecy was endangering the overall security of the pact's activities. Therefore, a British intelligence officer from the Security Service was dispatched to help Turkey strengthen its security capabilities and "dispel the Turks' complacency."[19] As a result of its alignment with the Western alliance, Turkish diplomatic security practices gradually started to align with the alliance's own security structure. During the Cold War, however, the weakness in Turkish diplomatic security remained a concern not only for Ankara, but for its allies as well. In spite of attempts to tighten Turkish diplomatic communications, the Soviets exploited gaps in Ankara's diplomatic network to infiltrate NATO circles.

The main reason behind this gap was the politicization of the Turkish bureaucracy, where nepotism triumphed over meritocracy as an essential criterion for most political appointments. This is illustrated by the case of Nahid İmre, NATO's financial comptroller in Brussels. İmre, a bureaucrat in Turkey's Ministry of Finance, was seconded to Brussels in February 1968 as a financial comptroller to the NATO HQ in Brussels. İmre was not a suitable candidate in terms of seniority, experience, and internal procedures. However, his influential family ties helped him secure this well-paid and prestigious job. Furthermore, since they had not run the necessary background checks on him, the Turkish authorities did not know that İmre was an introvert with a weakness for money and sexual perversions. Therefore, soon after taking up his appointment in NATO, intelligence officers from the Romanian embassy in Brussels used İmre's weakness to blackmail him into handing over top-secret NATO projects. NATO security officers soon grew suspicious of İmre's behavior and eventually caught him in the act of copying NATO classified

documents. Soon afterward, he was extradited to Turkey to stand trial, where he was later sentenced to thirty years in prison.[20]

İmre's case was not a one-off incident but a detailed example of Soviet espionage activity targeting Turkish diplomats during the Cold War.[21] Recently declassified sources from the Soviet intelligence agency, the KGB, further illustrate this point. Starting from 1974, the KGB launched an espionage mission called SAMANTHA, specifically targeting Turkish intelligence and diplomatic institutions.[22] The logbook of Operation SAMANTHA highlights the methods used by the KGB and the extent to which those methods were successful. As illustrated by the İmre case, the KGB systematically studied the biographical information of key Turkish personnel appointed to NATO, and used honey traps and blackmail to gain access to Turkish cipher codes. In light of available sources, it is safe to suggest that Turkish diplomatic communications were frequently compromised by the Soviets during the Cold War. The main weakness of Turkey's diplomatic security lay in the pervasiveness of nepotism within Ankara's foreign policy bureaucracies. Incompetent diplomatic personnel with a weakness for money and sex were consistently and successfully targeted by the KGB, which saw in Turkey the weakest link of the North Atlantic Alliance and therefore the easiest way to access NATO secrets.[23]

Turkish diplomatic communications were not only targeted by the Soviets, but also by Turkey's own allies. During the course of the Cold War, Turkey, a member of NATO, sometimes pursued agendas that were at cross-purposes with the security interests of other Western countries. Such cases as the Cyprus conflict with Greece that started in the mid-1950s and Turkey's plan to conduct a military intervention in Syria in the late 1950s threatened to drag NATO into unwanted wars.[24] As a result, even the United States, Turkey's most trusted ally, spied on Turkish diplomatic communications, using the National Security Agency to recruit a typist clerk in the Turkish embassy in Washington in order to access Ankara's confidential diplomatic codes.[25] This weakness in Turkish diplomacy's human resources also provided an opportunity for the United States to recruit agents. For instance, Sebahattin Savaşman, deputy chief of the Turkish Intelligence Agency, was caught by his colleagues in late 1977 passing top secret documents on Cyprus and Syria to the British and American embassies. During his interrogation, Savaşman confessed that he sought the secret documents because he needed money to send his son to a private college in the United States.[26]

Terrorist Attacks against Turkish Missions

Turkish missions not only suffered from espionage campaigns, but also saw the physical safety of their personnel frequently threatened. Between 1981 and 1982, Turkish diplomats were murdered in Paris, Geneva, Sydney, Los Angeles, and Boston.[27] Most attacks stemmed from the country's oppressive treatment of ethnic minority groups such as Armenians and Kurds, which triggered numerous violent acts against Turkish diplomatic missions. These attacks often took place in countries with large diaspora communities belonging to either of the ethnic groups mentioned above. During the Cold War, Turkish intelligence services had a primarily domestic focus, and lacked the capabilities to anticipate and thwart threats to diplomatic posts abroad. Therefore, when the Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia (ASALA) was created in 1971, the wave of attacks launched by the terrorist organization against Turkey's diplomats abroad caught Ankara completely unprepared. ASALA's terrorist campaign lasted for more than a decade and claimed the lives of forty-two Turkish diplomats and their dependents based in various posts from Santa Barbara in the United States to Sydney in Australia.[28] The personnel of Turkish diplomatic missions often had no expertise in security-related matters, and were therefore unable to provide any support to Ankara and the host governments where Turkish missions were based. On December 5, 1957, the Turkish embassy in Washington alerted the US police after a boy's slingshot hit the embassy's windows, which the Turkish diplomats mistook for a gunshot from the nearby Arab Center.[29] This false alarm is an example of the weaknesses of Turkish diplomatic security, plagued by a lack of expertise and appropriate standard operating procedures.

There were in total forty-seven terrorist attacks on Turkish diplomatic posts perpetuated by ASALA between 1975 and 1985.[30] These attacks were mixed in nature, ranging from bombings to targeted killings, depending on the capabilities of ASALA's cells in a given region and the nature of their targets. ASALA's attacks, however, dramatically stopped soon after the terrorist organization killed and wounded a large number of civilians in a bomb attack at France's Orly airport on July 15, 1983. There are various reasons for ASALA's decision to refrain from attacking diplomatic premises. Most importantly, since ASALA's killing of civilians resulted in a reputational backlash and a loss of legitimacy, support from diaspora groups rapidly dried up, making it harder for the terrorist organization to operate.[31] Some sources also claim that the Turkish intelligence agency's success at tightening the circle

around ASALA's leadership and its cells eventually left the terrorist organization crippled, enabling host countries to better cope with attacks against Ankara's diplomatic missions based in their territories.[32] Recently declassified files from the Czechoslovak National Security Archives illustrate Turkey's growing ability to anticipate the threat of attacks against its diplomatic missions. On March 15, 1983, for instance, the Turkish embassy in Prague informed the Czechoslovakian Foreign Ministry that eight ASALA members were in the country and planned an attack on Turkish diplomats. In response, the host government tightened security controls around the embassy and kept the names of the suspects on a watch list.[33]

Although ASALA's attacks dropped after 1983, some continued after the end of the Cold War. For example, two Turkish diplomats were assassinated in Greece in 1991 and 1993. Turkey brought these deaths to the attention of the United Nations later in 1999, condemning the Greeks' inefficiency in providing security and safety to Turkish diplomats.[34] Ankara's appeal to the United Nations, however, was largely a diplomatic expedience aimed to pressure Athens over other foreign policy issues, such as the status of some Aegean islands and the activities of Kurdish terrorist organizations in Greece. Ultimately, Turkey turned the attacks against its premises in Greece into a political weapon against Athens.

While the threat posed by ASALA eventually declined, the lack of bureaucratic effectiveness and insufficient security expertise limited Ankara's ability to incorporate the lessons learned into its institutional memory and address its existing weaknesses. Starting from the mid-1990s, another wave of terrorist attacks targeted the Turkish diplomatic network. This time, the perpetrators were the diaspora network of the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK). To date, there have been twenty-two PKK attacks against Turkish diplomatic posts.[35] Missions in Europe, where the Kurdish diaspora is especially present, have been targeted most frequently. Although these attacks have not created any casualties so far, they have nevertheless disrupted the activities of Turkish representations and damaged mission buildings.[36] The failure to stop such attacks is primarily caused by a lack of mutual understanding and close cooperation between Ankara and European host states, which do not see PKK activities as a serious threat to the extent that Turkey does. Growing mutual distrust between the two parties after the 2016 failed coup is likely to exacerbate this problem.

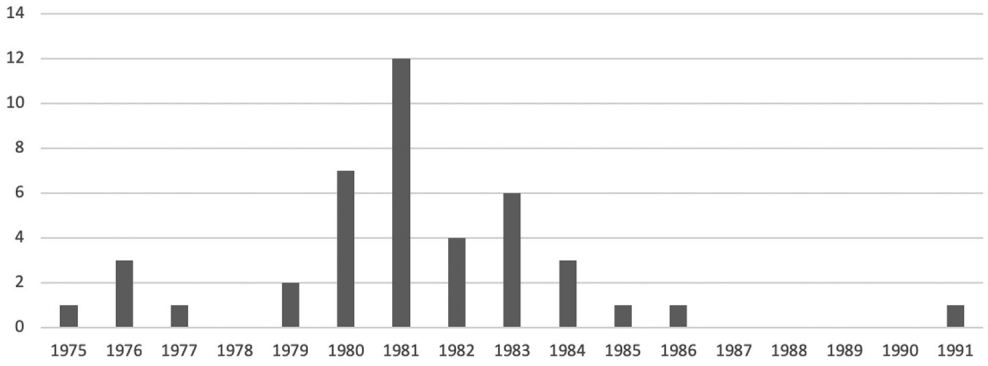

FIGURE 2. Attacks against Turkish diplomatic personnel, 1975–1991

Inherited from the Past

Threats to Turkish diplomacy have proliferated in the last few years. This is primarily due to the increasing politicization of the country's foreign policy bureaucracy, but also the mismatch between Turkey's foreign policy ambitions and present capabilities. The failure to learn from the country's past experience has added to these problems. Drawing lessons from past experiences with a view to revising existing security policies and devising new ones is unlikely to occur in a depoliticized environment: "What is 'learned' and what is 'remembered' must always be seen in the context of political interests and political power."[37] In the Turkish context especially, past experiences were interpreted selectively and tailored around decision makers' agendas, which hindered an effective review of Ankara's diplomatic security policies. Why has this been so?

Turkey's diplomatic protection is handled by a specific unit in the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Directorship of Security and Intelligence Affairs. This unit does not have its own security guards, but uses Turkish police special operations units and intelligence officers to guard Turkish posts abroad and escort diplomatic personnel. There are currently 454 police personnel seconded abroad to protect Turkish diplomatic posts. Most of them have been seconded to countries where security risks are high and Turkey has strong economic and political interests and a large diplomatic presence, such as Pakistan, Iraq, and Somalia. In cases where the host country does not allow the presence of armed Turkish police officers, private security companies like

G4S have been hired.[38] The average monthly cost of protecting the Ministry of Foreign Affairs' overseas missions amounts to approximately 2 million USD.[39]

Not only has Turkey resorted to armed personnel to protect its missions abroad, in some circumstances protection has also been enhanced by purchasing buildings that meet tighter security standards. President Erdogan outlined this policy by saying that "renting a [embassy] building is not in our tradition. Rented buildings do not provide adequate infrastructure for our diplomatic missions. Therefore, we started to buy land and build our own."[40] The Turkish embassy in Mogadishu is a case in point. In 2016, the Turkish embassy to Somalia was moved from a rented building to a 20-acre building complex, which was purchased for around 65 million USD. To date, however, embassies have rarely been relocated to safer posts due to logistical constraints and the lack of sufficient financial resources.

Moreover, there are no career officers specializing in diplomatic security in the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. This hampers the development and implementation of effective security measures. Neither police officers nor career diplomats seconded to specific posts are adequately equipped to address the growing threats to Turkish diplomatic security. This is especially evident in Europe, where the PKK can easily obstruct Turkish diplomats conducting public diplomacy among Turkish expats in Europe, and where xenophobic groups of right-wing political hooligans have become increasingly active. A recent Islamophobic attack by the Austrian ultra-right-wing group Identitre Bewegung targeted the Turkish embassy in Vienna by covering the front of the building with a large banner reading "Oh Erdogan, take back your Turks!"[41] Due to the lack of specialized security units attached to Turkish diplomatic posts, even this relatively low-profile incident could not be prevented.

The challenge of political hooliganism is likely to be exacerbated by Turkey's foreign policy in the Middle East. Ankara's involvement in the Syrian civil war has created friction between Turkey and the major powers with a stake in the Syrian conflict. One of the main aims of this Turkish activism in Syria is to provide military support for rebel groups fighting against Assad.[42] This policy has created major standoffs between Turkey, the United States, and Russia. Soon after Turkish jets downed a Russian bomber over Syria on November 24, 2015, Turkish President Erdogan stated that "anyone who bombs that area attacks our brothers and sisters—Turkmen."[43] This incident posed a serious threat to the Turkish diplomatic posts in Russia, where an angry Russian mob stoned the Turkish embassy in Moscow, damaging the

building.[44] While the recent reconciliation between Turkey and Russia has reduced the risk of physical attacks on Turkish missions in Russia, the security of its diplomatic missions is subject to the volatility of diplomatic relations between the two countries.

Current threats to Turkish diplomatic security are not limited to physical attacks on Turkish diplomatic missions. As a result of its Syrian policy, moreover, Turkey has once again become a frequent target of espionage. For example, Assad's notorious Syrian Electronic Army targeted Turkey's confidential diplomatic communications and released them on the internet in 2013.[45] These leaked communications damaged the credibility of Turkey's foreign policy, disclosing a large number of confidential messages between Ankara and the United States.

As was the case during the Cold War, threats to Turkey's information security came not only from hostile countries. Classified information leaked by NSA-contractor turned whistleblower Edward Snowden also included evidence of British, German, and American espionage against Ankara, which has caused outrage and distrust of Turkey's NATO allies. Leaked evidence suggests that German, UK, and US espionage has aggressively targeted Turkey and hacked into servers of Turkey's top government systems.[46]

It is no secret that even traditional allies spy on each other. Information security, however, has recently become all the more important for Turkey. In 2013 and 2014, a clandestine global Islamist network, led by a former imam based in Pennsylvania, Fethullah Gülen, started leaking communications between top-level Turkish officials via the internet. These leaks included audio recordings of high-level government meetings on top-secret and highly sensitive security matters such as contingency plans on Syria and secret peace negotiations with the PKK.[47] According to Turkish officials, the Islamist Gülenist network has sought to weaken and overthrow Prime Minister turned President Erdogan by relying on agents within Turkey's military and security services.[48] After the Snowden leaks, Turkish intelligence started to suspect that the Gülenist network may be actively collaborating with foreign intelligence services.

After the failed coup attempt on July 15, 2016, which Ankara attributes to the Gülenists, a total of 262 Turkish diplomatic passport holders (diplomats and Turkish NATO officers) requested asylum in Germany alone.[49] The defection of large numbers of Turkish diplomats to Western countries following the coup attempt created another weakness in the Turkish Foreign Ministry, since

the departure of these diplomats is also likely to compromise confidential information regarding the inner workings of Ankara's foreign policy. Moreover, continuing political instability in the country has created an atmosphere of fear and distrust among Turkish diplomats, who suspect that they could become the next target of Erdogan's overreaching purges should they express dissent against Ankara's foreign policy and its shortcomings. The post-coup political instability is therefore an indirect, overarching threat to the effectiveness of Turkish diplomatic security and diplomacy at large.

Conclusion

The lack of professionalized and effective diplomatic security arrangements in the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs has hindered Ankara's efforts to conduct an ambitious and effective foreign policy. Historical evidence shows that Turkish diplomatic security has consistently been threatened not only by unrest in host countries, but also by the activities of foreign wings of its own domestic terrorist organizations. Moreover, Turkey's information security—still very vulnerable due to a lack of bureaucratic effectiveness and technical proficiency in encrypting diplomat communication—continues to be the target of espionage from enemies and allies alike.

At the time of writing, Turkey's political instability is creating further difficulties for Turkish diplomats, who see their privacy and safety compromised by both foreign actors and internal factions that aim to purge their rivals from government institutions. In spite of these concerns, Ankara continues to pursue a proactive foreign policy in sensitive locations such as sub-Saharan Africa and the broader Middle East. The mismatch between Ankara's activism abroad and the capabilities and resources of its foreign policy apparatus makes the emergence of new threats against its diplomatic missions increasingly likely. Without a professional and politically independent diplomatic security bureaucracy comprising intelligence officers, special operations units, information security and diplomats, Turkish diplomacy is likely to face new security challenges in the near future.

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10 Risk Management in US Diplomatic Security

Thomas Stocking

Introduction

The most important objectives of the Bureau of Diplomatic Security (DS), where I worked as a special agent from 1987 to 2013, are protecting people and property. The increased lethality of terrorism in recent years has forced DS to adapt the practice of diplomacy in a more dangerous world and brought significant changes to the ways DS protects the people and property of the US Department of State (DoS).

This chapter examines how risks to diplomacy have been assessed and managed in recent years. After a brief review of the traditional practice of American diplomacy, it explores four cases: the 1983 Beirut bombings, the 1998 East Africa bombings, the 2007 Nisour Square incident, and the 2012 Benghazi attack. These cases will be examined by both reviewing the findings of the Accountability Review Boards and outlining my personal perspective. I will argue that after each incident DS has improved its understanding and application of risk management, but this development has been slow, confusing, and inconsistent. Throughout this process, the tension between traditional ways of conducting diplomacy and the measures required for enhancing security for diplomats has often been portrayed as a zero-sum game. This tension still exists today, but the DoS has accepted that the costs of failing to enforce rigorous risk management are unacceptable.

Traditional US Diplomacy

Impressive buildings in capital cities have always played a symbolically important role in American diplomacy. Prior to the advent of global terrorism, American embassies were located in prestigious central city locations and ambassadors cruised the streets in their Cadillac limousines proudly flying the American flag. Prominent architects like Edward Durrell Stone in New Delhi, Walter Gropius in Athens, and Eero Saarinen in London designed showcase buildings; in Rome and Prague, palaces were converted into embassies; and in Paris a new beaux-arts embassy was designed to fit its historic location on the Place de la Concorde.[1] Istanbul's Palazzo Corpi was built as a private residence and acquired by the United States in 1882. It became the US consulate after the embassy moved to Ankara in 1937. The Palazzo Corpi is a beautiful building in the center of historic Istanbul and its imposing design and ornamentation represented the power and prestige of the United States.[2] Despite its failure to meet security standards, Palazzo Corpi was not replaced by a modern consulate building in a distant suburb of Istanbul until 2003. Columnist Thomas Friedman likened the new consulate to a "maximum security prison." After terrorists chose to attack the British consulate in central Istanbul instead of the American consulate in 2003, however, Friedman acknowledged: "A lot of U.S. diplomats are probably alive today because they moved into this fortress."[3]

The attack on the British consulate, which was located in crowded historic Istanbul, killed the consul general and nine other embassy employees. Major attacks in recent years have been launched against other US diplomatic facilities, but secure facilities defended by diplomatic security personnel, Marines, embassy local guards, and host country security forces have kept American diplomats safe while at work. The exceptions to this record include the death of four American diplomatic personnel in an attack on the Special Mission Compound and Annex in Benghazi, personnel killed by rocket attacks on American compounds in Iraq, and terrorist attacks against diplomatic personnel working or traveling outside a secure facility.[4] Keeping personnel safe has restricted traditional diplomatic engagement because of rigorous access control requirements and led to the relocation of facilities from the central city to the suburbs, thus isolating diplomats from everyday life. Senator John Kerry questioned in 2009 whether the focus on security had gone too far: "We are building some of the ugliest embassies I've ever seen. We're building fortresses around the world. We're separating ourselves from people in these

countries. I cringe when I see what we're doing."[5] After John Kerry became secretary of state, this quote has been cited numerous times in articles discussing embassy security and risks to diplomats. Architectural critics and frustrated diplomats have called for a reevaluation of this emphasis on security. In an article in the *Foreign Service Journal*, the official publication of the American Foreign Service Association, retired FSO James L. Bullock expressed his concerns: "I watched this over-emphasis on minimizing risk grow steadily during my three-decade Foreign Service career, and the phenomenon continues today. One way it manifests itself is in the 'creeping militarization' of our diplomacy."[6] Bullock contrasts his experience working in Beirut after the 1983 embassy bombing with his experience in Tunisia after the 2012 attack on the embassy. In Beirut he was able to travel freely, meet contacts, and engage in public diplomacy events. In Tunis, because of official travel restrictions, he was able to do only one public diplomacy event. His conclusion is a call for a reevaluation of security priorities: "When we decide to put diplomats and other civilian workers into a country, we need to ensure they have the tools they need to accomplish the tasks set for them. And because risk can never be eliminated, it must be managed."[7] Bullock calls for risk to be managed, but reconciling traditional diplomacy with effective counterterrorism measures is no easy task.

The 1983 Beirut Embassy Bombing: The Inman Commission and the Reality of Risk

The death of sixty-three people including seventeen Americans in the 1983 Beirut embassy bombing compelled the Department of State to confront the violence against American diplomats and facilities that had been growing since the 1960s, most notably the assassination of five ambassadors since 1965 and the crowd attacks upon embassies in Islamabad and Tehran in 1979. A commission chaired by retired Admiral Bobby Inman was tasked with investigating the Beirut bombing. Its findings confronted the DoS with the inadequacies of its response to increased threats.

In Beirut, the suicide bomber was able to drive into the compound, smash his van packed with 900 kilograms of explosives into the building, and bring down an entire wing of the structure. Recognizing the widespread vulnerabilities of DoS facilities, the Inman report, formally titled *Report of the Secretary of State's Advisory Panel on Overseas Security*, was thorough and

comprehensive in its recommendations. It called for tighter physical security standards; bureaucratic reorganization within the DoS to bring security programs under the authority of the new Bureau of Diplomatic Security; threat-awareness training for all diplomats; an enhanced armored vehicle program; improved threat analysis and reporting; and an expanded Marines security guard (MSG) program. Recommendations concerning physical security were absolute and specific: "The Panel strongly recommends that the Department of State embark on this long-range plan to renovate or replace its office buildings at those 126 listed posts in order to minimize the potential for future security-related incidents that could lead to significant damage, loss of life, or compromise of national security information."[8] The authors of the report were aware that their recommendations could not be implemented without a major cultural shift at the DoS. Even after the tragic events of the preceding twenty years, the commission members encountered a strong reluctance to even acknowledge risk: "The results so far, however, seem to be mixed. While most personnel take the situation seriously and conduct themselves accordingly, there is reason to believe some seem to think, 'It can't happen to me.'"[9] Even before the Inman Commission issued its report, embassy design had begun to change, but the culture of the DoS was slow to adjust. Representative of the tension between traditional ways of doing business and the need for enhanced security was Lisbon, where I served as a regional security officer (RSO). The former embassy had been in a busy downtown location in an old office building on the street with no compound or setback. This building provided a front row view of the marches and demonstrations that took place in Lisbon during the 1974 coup that ousted the military dictatorship and ultimately led to the triumph of democracy in Portugal. Embassy officers could feel the pulse of the city and credited their reporting with bringing a reluctant Secretary of State Henry Kissinger to reassess his opinion that Portugal would be lost to Communism.[10]

In 1982 the embassy relocated to a spacious site on the grounds of a historic *quinta* (manorial estate) just 3 kilometers from the old location, but surrounded on three sides by busy roads and far removed from Lisbon's active urban life. The site provided setback in excess of the future Inman standard of 100 feet with vehicle checkpoints located on the perimeter of the compound.

This new embassy had been the site of a mortar attack in November 1984 by FP-25 guerillas and an explosion of an IED surreptitiously placed in the trunk of an embassy employee's car, which was detected at a checkpoint

before it exploded.[11] By the 1990s, however, these events seemed like ancient history to most diplomats assigned to Lisbon. Indeed a common lament of RSOs serving in the 1980s and 1990s was how difficult it was to build security awareness at an embassy. Without strong support from the front office, participation in regular emergency radio checks would hover around 50 percent; getting employees to wear their ID badges was a constant struggle; many of the expensive home alarm systems installed in every diplomatic residence sat unused; and embassy officers frequently did not complete their portion of the emergency action plan or attend emergency action exercises or drills.

The 1998 East Africa Bombings: Risk Management or Risk Toleration?

After an impressive start, the urgency and momentum surrounding the Inman report dissipated in the 1990s. Several new high-profile embassy projects were designed by well-regarded architectural firms, but only twenty-two projects were completed to Inman standards before August 1998.[12]

Multiple reasons explain the failure to fully implement the Inman standards. Although designed by prominent architects, the new Inman buildings were predictably criticized as fortresses stuck far away from urban centers. Moreover, the buildings were expensive and complicated to construct. After the initial appropriations neither the White House nor Congress pushed for additional funding. Allegations that the embassy project in Moscow was riddled with bugs were a major and expensive distraction leading to additional expenses for construction security.

After returning from overseas in 1993, I was assigned to the Physical Security Division in the Certification and Transportation Branch of DS. In the initial effort to comply with the Inman standards, this had been one of the busiest offices in DS. By 1993, however, very few new projects were coming up and those that did (Ottawa, Berlin, and Moscow) dragged on for years over contentious design and construction security issues. The emphasis in my branch was on seeking exceptions to the Inman standards on embassy projects. As explained by the division chief, senior DS management had concluded that fulfilling the Inman standards was not possible. Projects would be prioritized according to "risk management" calculations. The key risk-management criterion was the Critical Threat List that categorized posts as either Critical, High, Medium, or Low based on the risk of terrorism, civil

unrest, crime, and technical security. Any post that was not High or Critical for terrorism was denied funding for security upgrades. As the August 1998 bombings in Nairobi and Dar es Salaam demonstrated, risk was based on the assessed capability of terrorist groups to launch attacks and the ability of the host country to counter threats, not the ability of an embassy to withstand an attack. The simultaneous attacks of August 7, 1998, were a shock even worse than the Beirut bombing because the targets were in Medium threat locations. Once again, Accountability Review Boards (ARBs) were called under the chairmanship of a retired admiral and distinguished public servant. Retired Admiral William J. Crowe led both ARBs and published a joint report entitled *Report of the Accountability Review Boards: Bombings of the US Embassies in Nairobi and Dar es Salaam on August 7, 1998*, popularly known as the Crowe Commission report. The introduction to the report lamented that too little had been done to implement the recommendations of the Inman report: "In our investigation of the embassy bombings in Nairobi and Dar es Salaam, we observed that many of the problems identified in that landmark report persist. Adequate funds were never provided to implement the Inman recommendations. Instead, there were drastic cuts in State Department appropriations."[13] The report commended Ambassador to Kenya Prudence Bushnell for her "particular diligence and professionalism seeking security enhancements for the embassy long before the bombing, including efforts to relocate the post away from its vulnerable location."[14]

Upon her arrival in Nairobi, the failure of the embassy to meet the 100-foot setback standard struck Bushnell as an obvious and dangerous vulnerability and she began persistent efforts to upgrade the facility. Reflecting on her experience in Nairobi, she wrote this in 2012 just two days after the Benghazi attack:

> For two years before we were blown up in Nairobi, Kenya, my team and I fought ("nagged" was the word State Department colleagues used) to have security threats and vulnerabilities addressed. We were too close to the street, an easy target. Washington's assessment was that things were O.K. Anyway, I was told, there was no money for a more secure embassy.[15]

The Crowe Commission realized that the findings of the Inman Commission had failed to take root in the organizational culture of the State Department, stressing that "the Boards were struck by how similar the lessons were to those drawn by the Inman Commission over 14 years ago" and was brutally direct

in its assessment of the problem: "The Department of State, in fact, does not apply its security standards fully. For far too many of its overseas facilities it implements them only 'to the maximum extent feasible,' applying 'risk management.'"[16] The quotation marks around "risk management" indicate that the ARBs thought this concept was at best inadequately defined and understood by the DoS or was in effect an empty phrase used to justify decisions driven by a lack of funding. Without ever defining what it meant by "risk management," the ARBs made a number of firmly worded findings that left very little room for discretionary applications of risk management.

Among the most important findings was the call for a strict interpretation of the Inman standards, which received the force of law in the Secure Embassy Construction and Counterterrorism Act of 1999. An ambitious timeline was set out for a capital building program to be funded at $1.4 billion a year for ten years. The ARBs rejected the notion that embassy security could be effectively calibrated to intelligence warnings by noting that "experience has shown that transnational terrorists often strike without warning at vulnerable targets in areas where expectations of terrorist acts against the US are low."[17]

Protecting diplomatic facilities required effective application of what is now known as the "deter, detect, deny, delay and defend" strategy.[18] Every facility had to be ready to face an attack, but the Crowe Commission lamented the lack of security awareness in the post-Inman era, arguing that "saving lives and adequately addressing our security vulnerabilities on a sustained basis must be given a higher priority."[19] This lack of security awareness, inadequate funding for secure facilities, complaints about inaccessible "fortress embassies," management difficulties within State's Foreign Building Operations (FBO),[20] and post–Cold War euphoria about a "New World Order" all contributed to the failure to implement the Inman standards.

To avoid the inertia that had overcome the Inman report and halted the initial effort to construct secure facilities, Secretary of State Colin Powell appointed Charles Williams, a retired US Army Corps of Engineers major general, to lead the new Bureau of Overseas Building Operations (OBO). As a bureau, OBO had higher status than FBO and General Williams, as he was universally known, was designated as the chief operating officer rather than assistant secretary, which is the normal title for the head of a bureau. As chief operating officer, Williams brought a dynamic and to some even ruthless efficiency to the work of rebuilding America's diplomatic facilities.

The key to his program was building new facilities on ten to fifteen acre compounds according to a standard embassy design (SED). SED elevated security concerns and rapid construction over architectural merit and prominent locations. Rarely would property of sufficient size be available in the center of a major city, so by necessity diplomatic facilities moved to the periphery. A basic functional design could be replicated around the world with only exterior design modifications permitted to "localize" the building. OBO completed seventy-one major new diplomatic facilities between 2001 and 2010. SED buildings both provide huge improvements in physical security and are much more functional. Old buildings in the center city may have charm and convenient access to urban amenities, but they were not designed for internal security and modern IT; fire control; heating, ventilation, and air conditioning (HVAC); and workspace arrangements.

I visited the new SED building in Skopje, Macedonia, and the RSO was quite pleased with how the building separated controlled areas for classified work for American employees with top secret clearances, brought the Marine security guard residence onto the compound, and consolidated all American diplomatic activities under one roof. The compound occupies a prominent hillside location at the edge of Skopje, overlooking the downtown in the river valley below. The old embassy in downtown Skopje had been attacked twice in recent years. In 1999, pro-Serbian protestors overran the embassy, burned every car in the compound, and battered the front door of the embassy with a flagpole. The ambassador and staff were forced to take refuge in the basement vault.[21] In 2001 mobs again attacked the embassy, breaking windows.[22] Since 2001, Skopje has been largely peaceful, but an embassy is built to last for decades and physical security protections cannot be easily calibrated to adjust to varying threat levels.

The value of a secure compound became obvious to me shortly after my arrival in Lisbon in August 1999. With high walls and more than the 100 feet of setback, the embassy on its hilltop location was well removed from the front gate. None of my threat briefings in Washington or at post had prepared me for one of the most unusual demonstrations in the history of US diplomacy. Protesters usually mobilize against US actions: in Portugal, the former colonial power in East Timor, demonstrators were protesting US inaction and demanding "Uncle Sam—we want you in East Timor." Their cause was to prevent Indonesia, which occupied East Timor after Portugal abandoned its colony in 1975, from subverting East Timor's path to independence.

Beginning on September 5, 1999, demonstrators gathered at the front gate of the embassy and for four days the demonstrations grew in size. For the most part the demonstrations were peaceful and because the embassy had both a back and front gate, embassy operations could be moved to the back gate. The Portuguese police maintained a low profile, did not wear tactical gear, and did nothing provocative. By September 8 the demonstration had grown in size and intensity. That evening ten thousand protesters were outside the embassy and a few rowdy elements, motivated more by the opportunity to engage in hooligan behavior than by noble political sentiment, began throwing rocks and bottles, many of which hit the police. One impassioned East Timorese youth attempted to scale the embassy wall before being arrested by the police.[23]

Being able to keep this demonstration well away from the embassy was very reassuring to me, at that time the only RSO assigned to Lisbon. My capable Foreign Service national investigators and I took turns maintaining 24-hour surveillance over the demonstrations. Fortunately for us in Lisbon, the Clinton administration took up the cause of East Timor and the demonstrations ended as quickly as they began.

While the Crowe ARBs initiated important reforms that enabled Diplomatic Security to better manage risks, the department as a whole promulgated no formal risk-management doctrine. Formal training for RSOs in a course entitled "Analytical Risk Management" was in place by 1999 as part of the in-service training for RSOs; this course was not part of the training for ambassadors, deputy chiefs of mission, and consul generals. The evaluation of risks, vulnerabilities, damage assessment, effective countermeasures, and the prioritization of resources is a specialized and demanding discipline. Although trained in the basics of risk management, RSOs continued to prioritize attention according to the urgency of the threat and did not employ an analytical method of risk management.

Indeed, one of the most frequently used risk-management tools of the post–East Africa bombing era which continues to this day is simply to close an embassy and evacuate personnel. During the 1991 Gulf War, many embassies in the Middle East and North Africa evacuated dependents, reduced staff to what is today called "emergency staffing levels," and operated with limited public access. After the war, the embassies eventually resumed normal staffing and operations. Following the shock of the East Africa bombings, the proliferation of threats, and the overwhelming

realization that intelligence could not provide a reliable warning of attack, many embassies were closed.

The prudent strategy of closing embassies when confronted by credible threats that cannot be immediately countered has continued since this time, sometimes affecting individual embassies, sometimes multiple posts. Twenty-two posts were closed for up to a week in August 2013 in response to an al-Qaeda threat,[24] and on March 15, 2015, the embassy and two consulates in Saudi Arabia were closed due to a threat posed by ISIS.

Nisour Square and the Reevaluation of Risk

In the lobby of the DoS headquarters is a memorial wall "Honoring Americans Who Lost Their Lives Under Heroic or Other Inspirational Circumstances or Otherwise in the Line of Duty While Serving the U.S. Government and the American People Abroad in Foreign Affairs."[25] Many names were added honoring those killed in the Vietnam War; the Beirut and East Africa bombings; and other terrorist bombings or assassination in the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s.

The decision to close embassies, withdraw personnel from extremely dangerous locations, house all personnel in fortified compounds, employ armored cars and security details, and limit movement outside secure areas has no doubt reduced the number of fatalities and represents a conscious risk-avoidance strategy of keeping diplomatic personnel out of harm's way. This contrasts with the practice followed during the Vietnam War, when USAID employees were assigned to work in the Civil Operations and Revolutionary Development Support (CORDS) and as public safety officers. The USAID memorial wall in its headquarters at Washington's Ronald Reagan Federal Office Building lists fifty-three USAID killed in Indochina between 1955 and 1975. Many of these "armed humanitarians" were military veterans like John Paul Vann; others, like Junior Foreign Service Officer David Passage, received a week's training at Ft. Gordon, were issued an M-16, and were expected to travel throughout the country to evaluate and report on the CORDS program.[26]

After Vietnam, diplomats were not expected to carry weapons in the field. The embassy in Beirut (after the second bombing in 1984 until 1998) was virtually cut off from the rest of Lebanon with all movement of US personnel coming in and out of the country provided by the Beirut air bridge. Trips off compound were carefully planned and accompanied by well-armed

bodyguards. Likewise, during Algeria's civil war all American diplomats were moved onto the embassy compound, with trips to the airport or for official business in the city conducted under armed escort.

This risk-avoidance strategy paralleled the military doctrine in place during the Clinton administration when, after the death of eighteen US service members in Mogadishu on October 4, 1993, "No boots on the ground" became the guiding principle. The response to the East Africa bombings was cruise missile attacks against al-Qaeda targets in Sudan and Afghanistan, and air power only was used in Iraq and the former Yugoslavia. However, everything changed on September 11, 2011.

Rather than areas to be avoided, the war zones of Afghanistan and later Iraq became the highest priorities for DoS and employees were given the opportunity to curtail immediately their current assignments in order to staff the embassies, consulates, and Provincial Reconstruction Teams (PRTs). Civilian experts in engineering, construction, governance, education, and other vital skills were recruited to assist in various nation-building and reconstruction projects. No explicit declaration was made to launch a formal program of expeditionary diplomacy reminiscent of the Vietnam era. When asked about the origins of expeditionary diplomacy, Assistant Secretary of State for Diplomatic Security Eric Boswell, said, "the United States Government made a decision that it would operate embassies in places where in my previous incarnation [the 1990s] we never would have been, specifically war zones, war zones where this is active combat and U.S. troops for that matter."[27] As opposed to the Vietnam model, where armed diplomats traveled alongside military units or moved independently, the expeditionary diplomats of the twenty-first century were either protected by military units or had their own armed security details. The number of civilians to protect exceeded the ability of the military and Diplomatic Security Service personnel to provide protection and led to the employment of thousands of armed private security contractors.[28]

The Nisour Square incident on September 16, 2007, prompted a series of investigations into the role of private armed security contractors. Hearings by the House Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, a review by an American-Iraqi joint commission, and FBI investigations led to a major reassessment of how DS utilized private security companies (PSCs). Erik Prince, the founder of Blackwater, defended the record of the company he sold in 2010 and proudly claimed that Blackwater never lost a "principal."[29] Prince's

comment raised an important issue about State Department risk-management practices. From 2001 to the present eight names have been added to the American Foreign Service Association memorial wall from deaths in Afghanistan and Iraq. Five died in bombings and three in rocket attacks. Each of these eight deaths, including and two Diplomatic Security Service colleagues, Ed Seitz and Stephen Sullivan, is a tragedy. However, this total is less than the number who died in a single day in either Beirut or Nairobi.

Protecting diplomats has been deadly serious work for security contractors. Forty-one Blackwater employees have been killed in Afghanistan and Iraq,[30] and the total for all PSCs working for the DoS runs well into the hundreds. Thanks to the extraordinary efforts to protect American diplomats in Afghanistan and Iraq, the number of fatalities has been much lower compared to the Vietnam era. This, however, has come at the cost of shifting much of the risk to private security contractors and, even with the availability of armed details, severely limiting the locations to which personnel could travel.

After the Nisour Square incident, DS made reforms to exercise tighter control over private security contractors: internal video records all motorcade operations; a DS agent or security protective specialist supervises every security detail; the Worldwide Protective Services contract enforces tighter control over PSCs. Already before the incident, DS was transforming into a data-driven organization, with headquarters demanding ever more information from the field, and technology enabling the rapid transmission of more data, especially digital imagery. Driving this change was Francis X. Taylor, assistant secretary of diplomatic security from 2002 to 2005. Taylor, a self-described "infomaniac," demanded that RSOs in the field report information in a more rapid fashion than traditional diplomatic cables and required spot reports to be sent on all incidents. Surveillance detection teams overseas, equipped with discreet video cameras, were able to rapidly acquire photographs of suspicious people, vehicles, and activities and share this with Washington and neighboring posts for analysis. By the mid-2000s, the video feeds from a post's security cameras could be transmitted in real time to the DS Command Center in Washington, DC. The power of this technology was demonstrated on February 21, 2008, when senior State Department officials, watching the live feed of the invasion of the Belgrade embassy's consular section, informed the ambassador, who was outside the embassy, of what was happening at his own embassy. Prior to the revolution in digital communications, the only means of real-time communication between Washington and the field was the landline.

Washington's ability to manage crises from afar was extremely limited. As communication technology improved, so did Washington's ability to direct and manage events.

It is extremely telling that after the Beirut and East Africa bombings no official in Washington was held personally accountable for these tragedies. In the future, this would no longer be the case. In the aftermath of the Nisour Square incident, Assistant Secretary of State Richard J. Griffin, after a grueling session in front of the House Committee on Government Oversight and Reform, was directed by Deputy Secretary of State John Negroponte to resign.[31] Throughout the time before and after the Nisour Square incident, DS was working hard to protect people and property. The consequences of failure were evident, but the process lacked a consistent application of risk-management doctrine. Risk management remained a statement more than a transparent process that accounted for the risks taken and assigned responsibility for the decisions. It took yet another tragedy to bring about these changes.

Benghazi and Beyond: The Development of Transparent and Accountable Risk-Management Procedures

While expeditionary diplomacy has never been formally defined, its spirit was embraced in a major speech delivered by Condoleezza Rice at Georgetown University in 2006, entitled "Transformational Diplomacy." This speech described a reinterpretation of the purpose of American diplomacy and the role of American diplomats. Echoing the understanding of expeditionary diplomacy, Rice described this vision for modern diplomats:

> We station these diplomats where the world of diplomacy intersects the world of military force, but increasingly this intersection is seen in the dusty streets of Fallujah or the tsunami-wrecked coasts of Indonesia. I want American diplomats to eagerly seek our assignments working side-by-side with our men and women in uniform, whether it is in disaster relief in Pakistan or in stabilization missions in Liberia or fighting the illegal drug trade in Latin America.[32]

Determining how diplomats should work in areas like the "dusty streets of Fallujah" is a great challenge. How do you keep civilians safe in a war zone without surrounding them with a large security detail that inhibits the very work they are trying to do? Basic risk-management methodology calls for:

1. An evaluation of the importance of the activity
2. An assessment of the risks faced in conducting that activity
3. The application of countermeasures to minimize the risk
4. An estimate of the consequences of failing to counter the risk

Applying the right countermeasures on a daily basis is extremely difficult. Good intelligence and the swift application of proper countermeasures are critical for avoiding catastrophic failure. Despite a growing appreciation of risk management, the process of applying rigorous, transparent, and accountable risk-management procedures was still a work in progress prior to the Benghazi attack.

The Department of State's *First Quadrennial Diplomacy and Development Review* of 2010 put forth a clear vision of the role of risk management in the chapter entitled "Equipping Our People to Carry Out All of Our Diplomatic Missions":

> *Establish a new paradigm for risk management*. By the end of 2010, the Secretary will convene a senior level committee from relevant State and USAID offices, including both management and policy officials, to begin a top-to-bottom review of how we manage risk overseas. This review will lead to a comprehensive and responsible construct for managing risk that allows our personnel the flexibility they need to complete mission objectives within a country and to establish new platforms for outreach beyond the embassy and capital. The review will develop a new conceptual approach to balancing risk acceptability with risk mitigation that will be conveyed by State Department leadership to all Chiefs of Mission.[33]

Was a "comprehensive and responsible" risk-management process applied in the decision to establish the Special Mission in Benghazi? This question was investigated by the Independent Panel on Best Practices, a group of respected and experienced security professionals convened in accordance with a recommendation of the Benghazi Accountability Review Board. Their report concluded that "there is no formal risk management model in place for use by either DS or the Department. Risk is managed by experience and intuition."[34]

In his appearance before the House Committee on Government Oversight and Reform on October 10, 2012, Under Secretary of State for Management Patrick F. Kennedy described the risk-management process used in evaluating security for the Special Mission in Benghazi: "I want to be clear: We regularly

assess risk and allocation of resources for security, a process involving the considered judgments of experienced professionals on the ground and in Washington using the best information available."[35] It is not the intent here to resolve the many questions about the adequacy of security in Benghazi and assign responsibility for this tragedy, but rather to assess how this incident has contributed to a more accountable and transparent risk-management process. At this same hearing, Under Secretary Kennedy spoke of the importance of the Benghazi mission: "But Chris [Stevens] understood that the State Department must operate in places where our military cannot or does not, there are no other boots on the ground, and where there are serious threats to our security. He understood that the new Libya was being born in Benghazi and it was critical that we have an active presence there."[36] As Kennedy emphasized, establishing a diplomatic presence in Benghazi was "vital." When asked by Chairman Darrell Issa about the security in place at Benghazi, Charlene Lamb, the deputy secretary of state for international programs for DS, said: "Sir, we had the correct number of assets in Benghazi at the time of 9/11 for what had been agreed upon."[37] This proved to be an unsatisfying response to the committee and Lamb was one of four State Department employees suspended in the wake of these hearings.[38] Clearly, some means of convincingly linking the protective measures to vital assets were required.

After Benghazi, establishing an accountable and transparent risk-management process became imperative. In carefully measured words respectful of the ultimate sacrifice paid by Ambassador Stevens, the Benghazi ARB raised questions about the extent to which he did not follow the customary best practices and the need for a more thorough and accountable risk-management decision-making process:

> The Board found that Ambassador Stevens made the decision to travel to Benghazi independently of Washington, per standard practice. Timing for his trip was driven in part by commitments in Tripoli, as well as a staffing gap between principal officers in Benghazi. Plans for the Ambassador's trip provided for minimal close protection security support and were not shared thoroughly with the Embassy's country team, who were not fully aware of planned movements off compound. The Ambassador did not see a direct threat of an attack of this nature and scale on the U.S. Mission in the overall negative trendline of security incidents from spring to summer 2012. His status as the leading U.S. government advocate on Libya policy, and his expertise on Benghazi in particular, caused Washington to give unusual deference to his judgments.[39]

Ambassador Stevens was admired for his dedication, bravery, communication skills, and love for the Libyan people. His loss was a great blow to Libyans, who came out by the thousands to honor his memory, but it is highly unlikely that Washington will ever again accord such "unusual deference" to an ambassador in a high-threat region given the extensive international and domestic political consequences of his death.

Many issues concerning Benghazi are still being debated. The starting point is determining what the United States was doing there in the first place. In his testimony, Under Secretary Kennedy says it was "critical" to be there, but there is no documentation as to why this was "critical." As a direct result of Benghazi, DoS has implemented a Vital Presence Validation Process (VP2). A VP2 process requires "the final decision to open, close, or change the status of a diplomatic mission is made by the President. The final decision to open, close, or change the status of a consular post, consular agency, branch, or special office is made by the Under Secretary for Management."[40] In the 2014 DS Annual Report, Assistant Secretary of State for Diplomatic Security Greg Starr describes "an enhanced and more broadly understood and shared risk-management process" as a legacy of the Benghazi ARB.[41] Within DS this took concrete form with the creation of a deputy assistant secretary of state position for high-threat programs; a High Threat Review Board; and a deliberate planning process that carefully considers US military and host country security assets in the operation of all high-threat posts.[42] The institutionalization of risk management received its firmest endorsement to date with the publication of "Risk Management Policy" (2 FAM 030) in the *Foreign Affairs Manual*, the procedural guide for DoS operations.

While these reforms are no guarantee that another fatal attack will not happen, having written procedures that demonstrate both the importance of the mission and the countermeasures employed to protect the mission are major improvements over the lack of accountability and subjective practices of the past.

Conclusion

DS decisions are always made in a shifting political environment. The call for a 28 percent reduction in the DoS budget by President Trump and the 50 percent reduction for embassy security, construction, and maintenance included in the proposed Jerusalem Embassy and Recognition Act posed huge potential

challenges for diplomatic security. The passage in March 2018 of the FY2018 Omnibus Spending Bill appears to provide continued funding for the fifty-nine construction projects currently on the books. Construction began in February of a new embassy in Mexico City. Nevertheless, the need to upgrade physical security at overseas posts remains. The September 2017 GAO report entitled *Diplomatic Security: Key Oversight Issues* identifies deficiencies at temporary diplomatic facilities in Afghanistan and at diplomatic residences and embassy supported schools. OBO's "Excellency" program is criticized for adding up to two additional years to the design process.[43] Much has been done to mitigate risk, but as the GAO report points out, many risks remain and it is unlikely that the risks to "soft targets" will be adequately addressed in the coming years.

Another finding by the Best Practices Panel that "The Department should, as a matter of urgency, establish an Under Secretary for Diplomatic Security" may stand an improved chance of implementation.[44] This proposal was opposed during the Obama administration with the argument that by "separating DS in a silo apart from day-to-day management would actually weaken our ability to manage risk."[45]

On the other hand, the argument for creating this under secretary position is that it would elevate security concerns within the DoS to an even higher level. Given the role that the Benghazi attack played in the 2016 presidential campaign and the Trump administration's focus on projecting America's strength, the creation of an under secretary for diplomatic security is a serious possibility. However, the lack of a confirmed assistant secretary for diplomatic security until the confirmation of Mike Evanoff in November of 2017 combined with the dismissal of Secretary of State Rex Tillerson in March of 2018 left all DoS reform proposals in a confused and uncertain status.

Regardless of the Trump administration's support for an under secretary for diplomatic security and OBO's construction plan, the DoS has now institutionalized much improved risk-management procedures, and DS continues to augment its counterterrorism capabilities. Every DS agent must now take the 11-week Advanced Tactics and Leadership Skills training course. This course is designed to guarantee that DS agents have the leadership skills and tactical fighting ability to plan and manage operations at high-threat posts. DS agents will all be trained to manage security contractors, partner with host country security, and direct DS security details.

There is no doubt there will be future fatal attacks against American diplomats and facilities. If the DoS follows the risk-management procedures now in place, the loss of life will still be tragic and painful, but the institutional consequences should be different. Those in authority now are aware that risk-management decisions will be carefully scrutinized. Risk can never be eliminated and politicians will always seek to attribute blame, but the process should finally lead to a fair and transparent explanation of why a security failure occurred. Expecting Congress not to seek the opportunity to pursue sensationalized hearings is perhaps too much to expect, but the hope is that serious risk management will create a learning culture rather than a blame culture in the wake of serious attacks.

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11 Securing Diplomacy in the War on Terrorism

A Critical Perspective

Clara Eroukhmanoff

Introduction

Diplomacy is often perceived as a tool that can abbreviate the duration of war or severely constrain the possibility of its outbreak.[1] Diplomats hold difficult talks with representatives of other nation-states, seek to project soft power, negotiate deals, and attempt to keep relations between countries amicable. To this end, special status has been accorded to those who are engaged in diplomatic missions, which was formalized in the 1961 Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations. Article 27 of the convention states that the mission is "inviolable" and that the diplomat "should be protected by the receiving State in the performance of his functions."[2] In addition, the diplomat "shall not be liable to any form of arrest or detention."[3]

That immunity, however, has not always been successful at preventing bodily injury. Diplomatic personnel have found themselves at the center of wars, notably the most recent war on terrorism.[4] More than two thousand terrorist assaults have targeted diplomats and embassies since 1980, even in the presence of heightened security measures such as the use of private security companies, the bunkerization of embassies, and their isolation in remote areas. The number of attacks has also increased since the renewed military presence in Afghanistan and the Mosul offensive by Iraq-led and international forces to recapture territory from the Islamic State. Such heightened risks have not only reshaped the conduct of diplomacy in fragile countries, but also informed the decision to relocate the US embassy in the United Kingdom to

Wandsworth, in the southwest of London, as its current central location cannot protect staff and property against ramraid cars similar to the ones used in the 2017 Westminster, London Bridge, and Finsbury Park attacks.

This chapter explores the ways in which diplomacy is enmeshed with the war on terrorism and in turn how this environment exacerbates diplomats' insecurity. The chapter, however, takes a critical approach to "security." In response to growing insecurity, governments have increasingly "securitized" diplomacy, meaning that extraordinary measures have been adopted to shield diplomats from danger. However, I question whether securitizing diplomacy, which involves moving diplomats further away from the public, actually makes diplomats more secure. Protecting diplomats' welfare has been recognized as a growing problem by security personnel (as the chapters in this volume make clear) in embassies located in the Global South and now the Global North too, as evidenced by the relocation of the US embassy in London; yet, studies on diplomatic security have not problematized the entanglement of diplomacy with war-making as a potential cause of diplomats' increased vulnerability. This absence is partly a result of framing diplomacy as a neutral foreign policy tool, an instrument that sits at midpoint in the continuum of war and peace, rather than as a generative practice reifying a global hegemonic order.

Diplomacy is central to Western norms and constructions of sovereignty and is thus also central to understanding terrorism perpetrated by groups such as the Islamic State that seek to challenge it. Western diplomats are not only targets because of the state they stand for but also because of the Westphalian system they represent, which can be illustrated by the 2017 attacks in Kabul's diplomatic area. This chapter first examines the role of diplomats in the war on terrorism in Afghanistan in the context of counterinsurgency operations and reaffirms the notion of diplomacy-as-practice through the politics of representation,[5] then reviews some of the security measures taken in response to heightened terrorist risks, and finally draws the implications of the problem-solving nature of this solution. The chapter argues that if diplomatic studies are concerned about the security of diplomats and diplomatic property, we must interrogate how diplomacy sustains an unequal world order and the interests of the Global North, for example, through winning the war on terrorism. Doing so will have a significant impact on the protection of diplomats globally, beyond their legal inviolability.

Diplomats in the War on Terrorism

Increasing Level of Threat

Between 1998 and 2012 alone, the United States Department of State and the Bureau of Diplomatic Security reported 271 diplomatic attacks on US diplomatic facilities, ranging from small incidents such as throwing stones over a diplomatic compound's fence, to more serious attacks that, for example, ended in the death of a senior foreign service national investigator in Yemen in 2012 at the hands of the terrorist group al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP).[6] Since 1977, terrorist groups have killed sixty-six American diplomatic personnel. Other terrorist attacks have included firing on a US government-owned helicopter in Peru by the Sendero Luminoso group; the 1983 Beirut embassy bombing, which killed sixty-three people including seventeen Americans; armed gunmen opening fire on the US embassy in Kabul in 2011; and a suicide bomber attacking a motorcade carrying a US general near the US consulate's general housing complex in Peshawar, Pakistan, in 2012, injuring two US and several local officials.[7] Since 1998, attacks on US diplomatic facilities have significantly increased, from five in 2001 rising to forty-three in 2012. As Stocking notes in this volume, the increased lethality of terrorism in recent years has forced the US Bureau of Diplomatic Security, whose role is to protect diplomatic personnel, to change the ways staff and property are protected.

The 2000s presented challenges for the security of British embassies and diplomats too. One important attack occurred on September 20, 2003, in Istanbul by an al-Qaeda–linked faction, the Great Eastern Islamic Raiders Front, or IBDA-C (Kinsey, this volume). Two explosions targeted the British consulate general and the HSBC headquarters and killed twenty-seven people, including Rodger Short, the consul general, and injured 450 people. The "worst attacks in British diplomatic history," recalls *The Guardian*.[8] More recently, a suicide bomber hit a UK embassy vehicle in Kabul and killed a member of the UK security team and three Afghans.[9] Terrorist attacks on French diplomatic personnel and buildings are a long-standing issue largely pre-dating 9/11 and al-Qaeda. Joana (in this volume) observes that France suffered several attacks during the Lebanese civil war. This includes the death of Louis Delamarre, the French ambassador, in 1981, the abduction of two diplomats in Beirut in 1985 by Hezbollah, and the death of a French military attaché in Beirut. With the civil war in Algeria, French diplomats were also confronted by an unsafe environment. Various attacks occurred in the 1990s

against French diplomatic institutions, including the hijacking of Air France Flight 8969 to Algiers by the Armed Islamic Group (GIA) in 1994. The number of terrorist attacks on French diplomatic buildings also increased in the 2010s as a result of a multiplication of terrorist groups in Africa. The increased vulnerability and tightened diplomatic security policies of Germany (Brummer and Krotz, this volume) and Italy (Cladi, this volume) are also a case in point.

Emphasis on Embassies Representing the Global North

When talking of diplomatic security, commentators tend to focus on threats to embassies representing the Global North and emphasize making those institutions secure. Yet, this emphasis does not necessarily result from an absence of attacks on embassies representing the Global South, but from researchers' own biases and prejudices. Terrorism studies also tend to concentrate on attacks located in the Global North and perpetrated by non-liberal actors. According to Ruth Blakeley, "terrorism is understood to mean activities by non-state actors, often located in the South against Northern democracies and their interests."[10] She argues that the lack of studies on state terrorism conducted by Northern democracies is due to three factors: the methods used to study terrorism, the institutional affiliations of terrorism scholars, and a refusal to deal with normative approaches.[11] But the reality that terrorism is also carried out by liberal states against populations of the Global South is hidden by the notion of the "non-state actor" in orthodox accounts of terrorism.[12] One should therefore bring the state back in, not as the natural guarantor of security, but as a potential perpetrator of violence.

Likewise, terror attacks against embassies are not solely carried out against embassies of the Global North by non-liberal actors, but also against embassies representing the Global South. However, we tend to focus on attacks carried out by non-liberal actors against embassies representing the Global North even when diplomatic institutions are increasingly used as targets of interstate and ethnic conflicts *globally* and by a range of actors (state and non-state). The response to the Mecca massacre of 1987 in which approximately four hundred Shia Muslims died, illustrates this tension. Both the embassies of Kuwait and Saudi Arabia were attacked as an act of retaliation against this massacre. There have been frequent suicide bombings near Indian diplomatic institutions in Kabul and more recently in Jalalabad. Former Afghan president Karzai rebutted the idea that Afghan groups were the perpetrators of the attacks on the Indian consulate in Jalalabad and instead pointed the finger at

Pakistan, "where the origin of this trouble is."[13] Karzai stated that groups such as the Lashkar-e-Taiba, the Lashkar-e-Jhangi, and the Jaish-e-Mohammad are trained in Pakistan and that the terror threat comes from across the border, not Afghanistan.[14] Because the United States leads the counterinsurgency struggle in Afghanistan, Afghan Taliban groups can be more easily blamed for acts of terrorism, on which the Pakistani government counts. It is also important to note that these attacks use the global war on terrorism to mask their prolonged disputes, as in the case above, where the attacks have been a spillover of the tensions between India and Pakistan. Turkey (Bezci, this volume), too, has suffered terrorists attacks, mostly as responses to Turkey's harsh treatment of ethnic minorities such as Armenians and Kurds.

The 2012 terrorist attack on the US consulate in Benghazi, which killed the US ambassador to Libya, J. Christopher Stevens, and three other US nationals, put under the microscope the role of Secretary of State Hillary Clinton in handling the crisis. Clinton was accused of "deliberately misleading the American public" by initially declaring that the attacks were a spontaneous reaction to the release of an inflammatory anti-Muslim video.[15] During her presidential campaign, private email communications with her daughter revealed that Clinton knew the Benghazi attacks were orchestrated by an "Al-Qaeda-like group" and not simply the result of a violent protest outside the embassy gone awry. This story received much attention not merely because it was released during Hillary Clinton's presidential campaign, but also because as secretary of state, she was "responsible for diplomats' security."[16] The attacks led to a lengthy US House Select Committee investigation of the events before, during, and after the attack. The committee produced a 988-page report attributing the failure to protect US diplomats to the State Department, and to Hillary Clinton more particularly, as well as to President Obama's wider foreign policies.[17] The attack in Benghazi and the political explosion it ignited in Washington indicate that diplomacy is charged with a symbolism that goes beyond the mere body of the diplomat. When working in war zones, the nature and role of diplomats are also embedded in the practices of war, which was particularly evident on the frontlines of the war in Afghanistan under the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF).

Diplomats at the Center of the War in Afghanistan

Western diplomats have been at the forefront of the war in Afghanistan since 2001, but especially since 2005–2006, when ISAF was oriented toward

counterinsurgency operations and winning the "hearts and minds" of the local population. The "COIN machine" led by NATO introduced a number of international forces in Afghanistan, both military and civilian, to add a "human" element to the war.[18] The addition of development organizations, civilians and diplomats in peacebuilding operations, however, complicated combat and stabilization missions because of a lack of coordination between dozens of national militaries, intergovernmental forces, and development agencies. This problem was subsequently recognized by NATO in its "comprehensive approach" (CA), which sought to improve civil-military cooperation by setting up a host of activities with the purpose of facilitating information sharing between agencies and missions, ranging from the creation of a coordination forum, the Joint Coordination and Monitoring Board (JCMB), and the implementation of Provincial Reconstruction Teams (PRTs).

Most relevant to diplomatic security in the context of Afghanistan were the PRTs, which included civilian staff from diplomatic corps, development agencies, and military officers, deployed in various regions where ISAF operated. Their central mission was to "extend Afghan central government, promote and enhance security, and facilitate humanitarian relief and reconstruction operations."[19] Under the ISAF mandate, the ratio of civilian to military personnel per unit depended on the national model adopted. For example, German teams maneuvered under a more permissive environment and were interestingly led by a civilian-military leadership—a military leader from the Federal Ministry of Defense and a representative from the Foreign Office (Brummer and Krotz in this volume)—while American PRTs operated in a less permissive environment and were led by the military. PRTs forced diplomats to be at the frontline of military operations and put them at risk of being attacked.

While the comprehensive approach was viewed as a "useful innovation" and a necessary corrective to the lack of peacebuilding coordination experienced in Afghanistan, the initial hopes that the civilian component of the PRTs could stabilize the country with reconstruction projects did not materialize.[20] For the Afghan population, it led to confusion about knowing who was armed, who was fighting and killing, and who was on "their side" training the local Afghan police, or training teachers and administrators, and building infrastructure. According to Astri Suhrke, for many Afghans, ISAF "appeared as an occupation force that supported self-serving elites and fuelled a costly war that claimed civilian lives and destroyed property."[21] Diplomats are

civilians, but in counterinsurgency operations where civilians and military elements are merged, they are easily conflated with foreign military forces or simply equated with "the internationals." Their role in PRTs in Afghanistan has increasingly put them at risk of assault, since they are not viewed as neutral negotiators between two countries seeking to bring about peaceful relations, but as part of the machinery of war that has dominated the Afghan security landscape since the Soviet invasion in 1979. During COIN, diplomats in Afghanistan were thus at the center of the tension between "building peace while waging war."[22]

Since ISAF officially ended in 2014, a residual international force remains in Afghanistan, mostly near the embassies. Recent terrorist attacks in Kabul, such as the suicide truck that exploded on May 31, 2017, near the German embassy, suggests that diplomats and diplomacy safeguards are still under threat. The bomb directly hit the German embassy but detonated outside the "highly secure" diplomatic area of Kabul. Other major Western embassies, such as that of the United States, and NATO's military headquarters, were thus affected.[23] The identity of the perpetrators of the attack was unclear since neither the Islamic State nor the Haqqani network, the usual suspects in the region, claimed responsibility. It is important to note that this attack occurred less than two months after the United States launched the largest non-nuclear warhead in the US arsenal (GBU-43/B), equivalent of 10 tons of TNT, in Nangahar Province, which, according to the locals, "felt like the heavens were falling."[24] The attack killed ninety-two ISIS fighters and destroyed ISIS tunnels in the area.[25] The fight against terrorism has since been replaced by the US-led Global Coalition to Defeat ISIL which includes seventy partners united in defeating global terrorism, but does not yet operate in Afghanistan.[26] While NATO has not committed forces to combat roles, its secretary general Jens Stoltenberg called for "more in the global fight against terrorism," and extended NATO's full support to the Global Coalition to defeat ISIS in 2017 by improving airspace management with NATO's "eyes in the skies," airborne warning and control system (AWACS) aircraft.[27]

The vulnerability of diplomats is often framed as a result of "riskier" and less permissive environments where terrorist threats keep increasing. While this may be true, this picture obscures the notion that diplomacy is not merely a negotiating tool between two equal parties, but rather a practice sustaining a particular world order, for example by being involved in the practices of war and grand strategy, as the case of COIN in Afghanistan demonstrates.

Diplomatic Practice

Representation and Symbolism

Much of the literature views diplomacy as a neutral tool of foreign policy and amounts to practical guides for new practitioners entering the profession.[28] These accounts include works by some of "the great minds of diplomacy," such as Abraham de Wicquefort's *L'Ambassadeur et ses fonctions* (1681), François de Callières' *De la manière de négocier avec les souverains* (1716), and *Diplomacy* by Henry Kissinger (1994).[29] While they portray diplomacy as a specialized negotiating skill, their account of diplomacy is more anecdotal than substantial.[30] They offer a statist and systemic conception of international politics, in which diplomacy is a neutral medium in the conduct of interstate relations.[31] It simply involves negotiating and the gathering, and dissemination of information as well as representing the interest of a people.[32] That practical medium, however, occurs "automatically," or, in other words, as a convenience, rather than a political choice. As Paul Sharp notes, diplomacy "does not convey any sense that these functions, taken together, make an independent contribution to what happens, or explaining what happens, in international relations at the system level."[33] Yet, if diplomacy is neither the *explanandum* nor the *explanans* for changes in the international structure, why do attacks on diplomatic personnel matter for international politics?

Terrorist attacks on embassies are symbolically powerful because diplomacy involves multiple forms of representation. In terms of function, the diplomat *stands for* someone other than herself, in this case, for the sovereign and the polity she represents. To be a diplomat is to follow the script of a diplomat.[34] The diplomat represents the interests of the state and her function is to communicate those interests to the representatives of other states. Diplomats claim control *over* a polity and have legitimacy over its interests, identity, and life.[35] Representation involves the ontological condition of the diplomat, which is to be "self-effacing" insofar as diplomats are never there as their own.[36] Noe Carnago calls this quality the "representational burden" of the diplomat.[37] The constant exposure to hostility and risk defines the ontological condition of the diplomat and at the same time legitimizes her special immunity status. It is a burden because the diplomat continuously finds herself *in* and *as* the Other, an Other whose ontological nature is always at risk.[38] Grasping diplomacy as an othering practice opens space for understanding diplomacy as a practice of differentiation with an exclusionary logic at its heart.

Diplomacy as a Practice

Situating modern diplomacy as a product of a particular history contextualizes the ontological security of the body of the diplomat in the context of the war on terrorism. Practices, according to Cooper and Pouliot, "are socially meaningful and organized patterns of activities; stemming from a know-how that is generated over time."[39] Scholars such as Sending, Pouliot, and Neumann, explore the processes by which diplomacy is made and remade, rendering diplomacy a generative force with concrete effects in and on the world.[40] It is easier to view modern diplomacy as a product of Western history from the standpoint of practice, for asking what it is to be a diplomat is also connected to asking what it is to be a "Westerner."[41]

The ancient Greek system of city-states stands as a great analogue of the modern state system composed of independent sovereign entities. While Ancient Greece can be studied as a system in a permanent "state of war" through iconic texts such as Thucydides' *History of the Peloponnesian War*, Christian Reus-Smit argues that the city-states also engaged in extensive cooperation.[42] This cooperative existence was regulated by fundamental institutions such as third-party arbitration, which consisted of states seeking advice from oracles.[43] Interstate arbitration can be regarded as one of the first instances of procedural justice and multilateralism that emerged with the origin of European dynastic diplomacy,[44] though diplomacy really became significant after the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648, giving birth to the modern state and the concept of sovereignty. Modern diplomacy was further crystallized after the disintegration of the empires in the twentieth century, which, according to Karin Fierke, universalized the Westphalian state system.[45] James Der Derian defines diplomacy as a "mediation of estrangement," founded on states' mutual estrangement from an original state (Christendom).[46] Although Christianity had a limited role in the constitution of European diplomacy, it departed from a mythical Christian unity, which means that Christian discourse has at least influenced to some extent contemporary European diplomacy.[47]

Diplomacy as practice accounts for the constitutive nature of diplomacy and the reification of the international system of states,[48] and as I argue in this chapter, for the constitutive relation between Western diplomats at the frontline of the war on terrorism and their insecurity. Diplomacy as practice both historicizes modern diplomacy and points to the ways diplomacy materializes the Western construction of sovereignty as common-sense in the

international system. According to Tariq Barkawi, diplomacy is not always a neutral interstate practice that prevents wars.[49] On the contrary, diplomatic practice "is a vehicle for the reproduction of hierarchies between states and is central to the administration and conduct of war, and to the constitution and use of force more generally."[50] For example, the operation of drones and the smuggling of weapons to anti-Assad rebels in Syria require negotiations and diplomatic channels. Without this "extraterritorial infrastructure," the conduct of war would be much less manageable. "Under the guise of the War on Terror," argues Barkawi, "US embassies are again channeling large advice and support programs for states in the global south."[51] Yet, this view is concealed since diplomacy is "couched under a language of public authority" and is associated with conflict resolution.[52] Hence, the line between diplomacy, understood as a Western practice and a powerful structuring force, and war has become blurred.

Diplomacy is often used to support war efforts and has been described as a form of governmentality.[53] Governmentality is the shift from the strict ability of the government to govern and implement specific policies that aim to protect its nationals to the wider technologies of security that manage and regulate individuals' lives in society. According to Foucault, governmentality is "the ensemble formed by the institutions, procedures, analyses and reflections, the calculations and tactics that allow the exercise of this very specific albeit complex form of power, which has its target population, as its principal form of knowledge political economy, and as its essential technical means apparatuses of security."[54] It involves governing from afar with indirect techniques of governance that go beyond borders and beyond the singularity of actors such as the state; it is best conceived of as an assemblage of technologies and practices governing global society. As Iver B. Neumann writes, diplomacy "foster[s] a mentality of being governed and a code of behaviour based on loyalty and standardized action."[55] Diplomatic practice has an inherently authoritative nature, a power regime that remains often unseen, indirect but everyday. The power and danger of governmentality is that it transforms coercive government policies into normatively positive technologies that in turn structure the relations between the Global North and the Global South in ways that invite self-governing capabilities.

Diplomacy as governmentality has positive effects for states of the Global North looking to obtain something from states of the Global South, especially in times of war. Maintaining a diplomatic presence even under heightened

risks for Western diplomats provides governments with crucial intelligence. Having an embassy on the ground allows the United States, for example, to better track political events and gather information on the target regime, something that would be limited if diplomats were not "on the streets hearing gossip."[56] But the value of intelligence has at times superseded the value of the body of the diplomat. Intelligence agencies and diplomats often work together, sometimes sharing the same building as diplomats. This was the case in Libya, where the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) operated in the same building as the US consulate in Benghazi when it was attacked (Cullen, this volume). Clearly, this highlights the entanglement between diplomacy, supposed to alleviate and minimize the consequences of war, and intelligence, which is deeply embedded in security and war making.

In a globalized world, formal diplomacy between nation-states is "only one aspect of a system involving multiple levels of intervention by multiple parties."[57] According to Maller, the goal of US diplomacy involves the gathering of intelligence, promoting America's image, conducting surveillance, and ultimately influencing the population and government where embassies sit.[58] By extending the powers of the state in intelligence gathering with a diplomatic presence in foreign countries, the government's apparatus extended; here diplomacy is a channel to exercise soft power. Establishing and maintaining a diplomatic presence is thus key in projecting soft power internationally. The structuring force of diplomacy is rendered intelligible through the notion of attraction, which, according to Joseph Nye, is the opposite of making threats or using a carrot-and-stick approach. Soft power is opposed to the hard power that the United States exercises through military campaigns, and instead seeks to seduce others to embrace Americans' way of life through a display of America's attractive culture, values, products, and freedoms.[59]

Yet the view of diplomacy as mere attraction, projection of soft power and peaceful attempts to resolve conflicts—which is interestingly pervasive in democratic peace theory—obscures the coercion and hard power of diplomatic engagement. As Peter Viggo Jakobsen posits, there is a widespread tendency to view diplomacy and military threats as instruments serving different ends, where the use of the latter is a product of failed diplomatic negotiations.[60] This view "ignores conclusions drawn by practitioners across the centuries that military threats and limited force used in support of diplomatic negotiations can enhance the scope for resolving crises and conflicts short of war in situations when diplomatic instruments such as persuasion,

inducements, and assurances alone prove ineffective."[61] Moreover, Bially Mattern reminds us that "soft power isn't so soft."[62] Projecting soft power requires representational force, which "is a form of power that operates through the structure of a speaker's narrative representation of 'reality.'"[63] Representational force is a form of power radically different from physical power as it is exercised through language but is nevertheless rooted in hard power.[64] It is what sustains the current world order with its asymmetric relations, and is activated through diplomatic channels that act as transmission belts of the power of a nation-state over foreign governments, often of the Global South. Diplomacy carries a representational force that is at the heart of the challenges posed by global terrorist networks such as ISIS. Successful or not, resistance to soft power reveals its coercive nature by showing that attraction is not always yearned for.

In the case of America's war on terrorism, diplomacy is put in the service of the United States' 3D strategy of national security: defense, diplomacy, and development. As part of the "diplomacy in action" endeavor, the strategy is designed to "increase the profile of diplomacy and development, alongside defense," by focusing on prevention in "failed and failing states."[65] The 3D strategy and the compounding of defense and diplomacy constitute "a central framework for American strength and influence."[66] This is part of a wider effort to combine civilian and military actors to encourage a "unitary effort" of US government programs when the United States is committed to lethal force. This means that in war zones, there will be an attempt to align the goal of defense and diplomacy (as well as development) with each other. In Afghanistan, diplomacy seeks to ensure the local population views the mission of nation-building and stabilization as in their own interests. However, the civilian-military duo in Afghanistan has failed to secure the trust of the local population. In turn, the distrust of diplomats (as well as aid and development agencies) has jeopardized their inviolability and their role as negotiators and "peacemakers," as we have seen in the context of PRTs.

Terrorist attacks on diplomatic institutions are symbolically charged as a result of this entanglement and of the governmentality of the war on terrorism that structures the relations between North and South. They threaten not only the bodies of diplomats but the Westphalian architecture, the concept of sovereignty, and the overlapping of military and diplomatic practices in this war. Diplomacy actualizes the state on the world stage as if the state were a real, physical actor able to pursue interests and capable of negotiation.[67]

Concomitantly, diplomacy also actualizes governments' practices on the world stage, even when those are linked to abuses of human rights. When diplomats die, it is not merely the death of an individual that is at stake, but the body of the polity she represents. As Carnago contends, while being a diplomat is to be self-effacing, "the diplomat who dies violently in mission acquires in contrast a mysterious halo, a strange or phantasmatic celebrity."[68] The "dead body of the diplomat" thus threatens the individual, the concerned nation-state, as well as the ontology of the state in the world.[69]

Terrorist attacks on diplomatic establishments thus run counter the "new terrorism" thesis, which broadly argues that the goal of "new terrorism" is to maximize the violence of the act rather than to promote a political and rational cause.[70] According to this thesis, "new" terrorist groups like the Islamic State or al-Qaeda lack any rational motivations, in stark contrast with the left-wing terrorist groups of the 1970s such as the Red Army Faction and the Red Brigades. These groups "had demands that could be met where plane hijackings and kidnappings were used as a tactic to have leverage in negotiations. This wave of terrorism used violent methods in order to change the post–World War II order and the bipolarity of the Cold War, sometimes in support of third worldism.[71] In short, left-wing terrorists used terrorism and violence as means to an end. "New terrorists," according to this thesis, do not. For actors such as ISIS, violence is an end in itself and this logic radically shifts how liberal democracies respond to them. This construction still dominates terrorism studies and thus permeates how diplomatic personnel understand terrorism and prepare for terrorist attacks. Governments of the Global North have responded to the heightened level of terrorist threats by securitizing the bodies of diplomats, their property, and the infrastructure in which they work.

Response: Securitizing Embassies

There are broadly two responses to the heightened risk of assault in the war on terrorism currently. One solution is for diplomats to accept the risk associated with their profession while increasing the level of security around diplomatic personnel and bolstering diplomatic facilities. Indeed, an effective response, according to Daniel Byman, "will require more local and regional partners, more cooperation with allies, more resources, and most of all a willingness to accept risk."[72] The other solution argues for diplomatic disengagement

with rogue states and with host countries that are too unstable to uphold the responsibilities spelled out in the Vienna Conventions, as the US government decided in Afghanistan after the withdrawal of the Soviets in 1989 and in Iraq after Saddam Hussein invaded Kuwait.[73] When the risks are too high, closing embassies can be a wise strategy. As a DS special agent, Stocking (in this volume) argues that the decision to shut down embassies and to withdraw diplomatic personnel from dangerous locations has "no doubt reduced the number of fatalities." Yet, diplomatic disengagement can create unintended consequences such as the loss of intelligence, an incapacity to influence the government on the ground, and the potential radicalization of moderates.[74] Indeed, diplomatic ties with countries regarded as havens for terrorist groups greatly contribute to overall counterterrorism efforts. According to Byman, the political lessons of Benghazi are clear: the attacks should not be a reason to retreat, but diplomats should be moved to more protected and isolated areas.[75] Instead of disengaging with countries at risk, governments can run threat assessments, gather high-quality intelligence, deploy military personnel or contract private security companies (PSCs) to protect diplomatic personnel, and build fortified compounds outside cities. The strengthening of security measures suggests that diplomacy has been "securitized," meaning that extraordinary measures to secure diplomats have been adopted, a subject explored below.

Embassies as Securitized Spaces: Accepting Risks, Bunkerization, and Contracting PSCs

First, diplomats can accept a number of risks and "stay and deliver" instead of fleeing, a strategy adopted in the aid industry to accommodate a "resilience risk-accepting posture."[76] Diplomatic personnel view the strengthening of security services as an unavoidable change if they are to do good work in a declining security environment. The assumption is that security risks can be minimized if there is a reinforcement of embassies' infrastructure, or a "bunkerization" of diplomatic facilities. This has informed, for instance, the standard embassy design (SED) program created by the US government (Stocking in this volume). Between 2000 and 2010, a significant number of diplomatic buildings moved to the peripheries of major cities onto 10- to 15-acre compounds called "SED buildings," with modern IT systems, ventilation, heating, air conditioning, and better work space arrangements, providing a more functional environment for diplomats than traditional embassy buildings in

the center of town. Most importantly, it is argued that fortified compounds deter attackers, who cannot see what is happening inside the building and thus reduce the likelihood of attacks overall.[77] This change seems to have improved the physical security of diplomatic personnel (Stocking, this volume). Yet, Mark Duffield observes an interesting paradox at the center of bunkerization in the context of aid compounds: workers are both "in the field" and removed from the societies, environments, and people on the ground.[78] Building diplomatic fortresses and bolstering security services that militarize embassies also goes against the project of "direct community engagement" and reaffirms the estrangement and othering of diplomats discussed above. In 2009 Senator John Kerry recognized this problem and stated that he "cringed" at the sight of "ugly" fortresses around the world, and more importantly, that this level of security separates American diplomats from the local community with whom they are supposed to engage (Stocking in this volume).

The second measure aimed to protect diplomats in dangerous locations is the use of private military and security companies (PMCs and PSCs) at the expense of more traditional diplomatic security, which has suffered government cuts. PMCs and PSCs have arguably enabled diplomatic personnel to continue their mission on the front lines of war. For instance, Blackwater has boasted that no US official under its protection was ever killed or seriously injured in Iraq. But private security companies can add to the resentment of the local population, especially when contractors are not subjected to the same rules and liability as state security forces.[79] Cusumano highlights how fuzzy accountability mechanisms have led to human rights violations by private security companies protecting diplomatic personnel. Blackwater contractors' aggressive driving and abuses in the use of lethal force alienated the Iraqi population, causing many grievances. When abuses by private security occur, "the armed protection of embassies and foreign service personnel undermine the effectiveness of the diplomatic activities . . . souring the relationship between sending states and local societies."[80] Although private security contractors can protect diplomatic personnel for specific missions, strengthening the security apparatus can in the long-run increase remoteness and othering, and thus contribute to the self-perpetrating insecurity of diplomats. The securitization of diplomatic spaces may thus enter a problem-solving logic that increases diplomatic personnel's insecurity, already at heart ontologically "self-effacing." This chapter next examines some of the implications of the securitization of diplomacy in order to move beyond this framework.

Conclusions: Beyond a Problem-Solving Approach to Securing Diplomacy

Securitizing embassies is problem-solving in nature. According to Robert Cox, a problem-solving theory simply seeks to respond to a problem posed within a particular perspective.[81] Problem-solving strategies take the prevailing world order as it is and seek to find solutions to the problems it creates by using existing institutions. For instance, if diplomats find themselves in high-risk areas, problem-solving strategies will seek to make them secure with solutions like the ones highlighted in the above section. Those strategies will not question the practice of diplomacy, the order diplomacy protects, nor the increasingly complex roles diplomats are required to perform, such as operating alongside the military in PRTs. A problem-solving approach to counterterrorism is also ahistorical insofar as it does not seek to understand the previous power relations that produce the insecurity of diplomats. Instead, it simply takes this insecurity as *given*, i.e., resulting simply from the "objective" observation that more terrorist attacks will occur. In turn, this requires similar security measures as the ones used in the war on terrorism, which increases diplomats' insecurity, going full circle. Not addressing the origins of their vulnerability and historicizing modern forms of diplomacy and how diplomacy is enmeshed with the war on terrorism can lead to short-term solutions.

In contrast, a critical view of diplomats' role in the war on terrorism opens up the possibility of creating alternative scenarios and is more reflective of the ways the problems emerged in the first place.[82] This framework means examining the war on terrorism and diplomatic practice as implicated in the problems that diplomats face and in so doing, start questioning the role of diplomats when their work is put in the service of military operations and grand strategy. The examples of the PRTs in Afghanistan, the 3D strategy of US national security, and the ability of diplomacy to project a form of coercion, are at the heart of the insecurity of diplomats and should be addressed if one is concerned with their personnel's safety in the theaters of the war on terrorism. A critical understanding does not take terrorism and diplomacy as stable objects of analysis but instead as changing and interrelated practices. It means seeing diplomacy not merely as a negotiating tool but as a meaning-making practice charged with representational force that reproduces a specific order constructed and governed by the Global North. Recognizing that diplomats are not always engaged in peaceful negotiations that will be in the best interest of the local population is a significant part of problematizing the

"insecurity of diplomats." It suggests studying how, for instance, the diplomatic channels used to arm anti-Assad rebels in Syria contribute to the death toll and grievances of Syria's future political landscape.

Understanding the symbolism attached to terrorist attacks on embassies and how such incidents are overdramatized requires a practice-oriented view of diplomacy. When terrorists target diplomatic buildings as in the recent attack in Kabul that killed more than ninety people, they target not only the body of the diplomat but the institution of diplomacy and by extension Western norms and notions of sovereignty. Diplomacy reifies the Western state as the rightful guarantor of security with a presumed right to use force in the Global South. It is the practice of diplomacy and this order that are being challenged, not merely the country that the diplomat represents. Nonviolent political expressions that do not fit this paradigm are automatically silenced in an international system of sovereign states as they do not have the authority, nor legitimacy, to communicate, much less negotiate, with other sovereign states. This means that groups that have political demands but are considered "non-state actors" are less likely to voice political discontent among equals and are excluded from the outset. The exclusion of these voices is central to understanding why violence becomes a course of action and why the institution of diplomacy itself becomes a target of terrorism.

So far, Western states have chosen to securitize diplomacy in the face of terrorist attacks. Securitizing measures include the bunkerization of diplomats and the use of private security companies. These measures can increase the estrangement of diplomats and ultimately make them less safe. The isolation and bunkerization of embassies in "highly secure" areas have widened the special status and separation of diplomats from the local population. In cases like Afghanistan, diplomats have directly contributed to nation-building operations side by side with the military, which has blurred the lines between combatants and civilians for a majority of the local population. Going beyond the problem-solving approach entails seeing the securitization of embassies as a political act rather than a mere technical matter that can temporarily make diplomats safer. There is a need to challenge the institutions and frameworks that seek to "solve conflicts," and this includes the entanglement of diplomatic efforts with the war on terrorism.

More transparency in diplomatic practices dealing with terrorist threats can change the discourse from one that sees diplomacy as a simple peaceful alternative to conflict, to one that recognizes the complexity of interactions

between actors engaged in terrorism and counterterrorism. In practice, democratic governments often negotiate with terrorists as well as "rogue states,"[83] authoritarian leaders and other villains, and these negotiations will often involve the use of diplomacy. This includes, for instance, the British government's decision to directly engage with Sinn Fein in 1994, Israel's decision to negotiate with the Palestinian Liberation Army in May 1993, the United States' decision to open dialogue with North Korea in 1994, and the United States' agreement to talk with the military leaders of Haiti in 1994.[84] The problem is that there is a discrepancy between what governments proclaim—democracies don't negotiate with terrorists—and the reality of what they do.[85] This lack of transparency is due to governments' continuous "demonization," or "villanization," of the threat, boosted by sensationalistic media representation of terrorist groups. One of the regrettable consequences of this villanization is that it forecloses any possibility of overt negotiations because negotiations become unjustifiable to the public, who have been repeatedly warned of the immorality of terrorists.[86] Ultimately, going beyond the problem-solving logic of securitizing diplomacy entails long-term structural, institutional, and discursive changes that can rearrange our understanding of diplomatic practice in an unequal Westphalian system of states.

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Conclusion

The History, Effectiveness, and Implications of Diplomatic Security

Eugenio Cusumano

The December 2016 murder of the Russian ambassador to Turkey and the September 2012 attack in Benghazi exposed the increasing vulnerability of foreign service personnel operating in countries fraught with political violence, revealing that the inviolability principle no longer suffices in shielding diplomatic personnel operating in sensitive locations from risk. Consequently, states worldwide have been confronted with the challenge of complementing host country protection with an array of additional security measures. While facing a similar challenge, great and middle powers with a global diplomatic presence vary significantly in the policies adopted to protect their diplomatic personnel abroad.

In order to complete the comprehensive comparative analysis of diplomatic security in this book, this Conclusion will summarize the answers to the four sets of questions outlined in the Introduction, examining the nature and scope of diplomatic security policies worldwide, the factors underlying their variations across countries and over time, their effectiveness in securing diplomats, and their implications for the conduct of diplomacy. To this end, the Conclusion is divided as follows: the first two sections summarize the empirical findings of the volume, provide a historical overview of diplomatic security, and map the main protective arrangements in place in the nine cases examined in the book. The third section examines the factors underlying the

choice of different diplomatic security policies and providers, stressing the key role of organizational cultures and interests in shaping different protective arrangements. The fourth section explores the conceptualization of diplomatic security as a form of risk management, pinning down the factors that may underlie countries' varying propensity to accept risks to the safety of their missions in dangerous locations. The fifth section examines attacks on diplomatic premises and personnel as a source of insights into the behavior of different terrorist groups worldwide and their evolution over time. The sixth section suggests the possibility for future international relations scholarship to conceptualize diplomatic inviolability as an international norm, using attacks against diplomatic premises as a source of novel evidence of norms' life cycles and the evolving institution of diplomacy. The last section focuses on the effectiveness of diplomatic security, examining the inevitable trade-off between effective protective arrangements and the effective conduct of diplomacy. The concluding remarks broaden the discussion into a wider examination of the implications of diplomatic security for the institution of diplomacy, outlining some avenues for future research.

Diplomatic Security Policies: A Historical Overview

The nine countries investigated in this book display both obvious similarities and remarkable differences in their diplomatic security policies. The first overarching analogy across all the cases is the increasingly widespread awareness of the importance of effective diplomatic security arrangements. Albeit at different speeds and to different degrees, all the countries examined have identified the need to protect their foreign service personnel abroad as a pressing challenge. Even states without a significant record of earlier attacks against their diplomatic missions, such as China, Germany, and Italy, now consider such attacks an increasingly credible threat. As many attacks today are perpetrated against Western objectives and foreign powers at large rather than against one country in particular, terrorist groups may decide to reorient their attacks and strike less-protected objectives. The 2003 bombing of the UK consulate in Istanbul—purportedly chosen as a target because the US consulate was too heavily protected—is a sobering example. Hence, tightening US protective arrangements may have inadvertently increased the exposure of other countries' premises, forcing them to strengthen their diplomatic security policies too.

Diplomatic security is not an entirely novel challenge. The expansion of the European diplomatic presence in Asia had raised the dilemma of how to secure Western embassies and envoys already in the late nineteenth century. This conundrum was addressed by means of different solutions, ranging from the use of local guards to self-defense and the retreat of diplomatic missions to a safer location in case of imminent danger. An advanced form of self-defense consisted in the grouping of diplomatic missions in isolated, fortified and therefore more easily defensible diplomatic compounds, a practice still widespread today.[1] These embryonic diplomatic security policies, however, were primarily piecemeal expedients, developed independently by the personnel of certain posts. The need to think more systematically about diplomatic protection by devising overarching, coordinated security policies and establishing an ad hoc bureaucracy within foreign ministries emerged much later. During the Cold War, the main security concern associated with a state's diplomatic presence abroad was still ensuring the secrecy of diplomatic cables and communications in order to prevent espionage and information leaks. The physical safety of diplomatic premises and personnel, by contrast, was largely taken for granted and did not receive systematic attention until the 1960s. In all of the countries examined in this book, systematic diplomatic protective arrangements were only envisaged later as a reactive policy response to deadly attacks.

Three main factors driving the emergence of full-fledged diplomatic security policies can be identified. Firstly, great and middle powers' diplomatic networks expanded dramatically after World War II. US and Soviet diplomatic posts spawned globally as platforms for the two Cold War superpowers to project their influence in the developing world. The decolonization of Africa and South Asia forced Britain and France to establish a number of new embassies and consulates in order to preserve a special relationship with their former colonies. Both recently established states, like the People's Republic of China, Turkey, and Israel, and countries defeated during World War II, such as the German Federal Republic and Italy, sought to build a worldwide diplomatic presence to seek acceptance or readmission into the international community and defend the interests of their diaspora population.

The proliferation of embassies and consulates into developing states fraught with social unrest inevitably created challenges to the safety of diplomatic personnel. As argued by Kinsey in this volume, such challenges initially took the form of diplomatic kidnappings. Mostly perpetrated in Central and South

American states by Marxist-oriented guerrilla forces, these kidnappings frequently targeted US diplomats, such as the ambassadors to Guatemala, Brazil, and Haiti. Starting from the 1970s, the Middle East replaced South America as the most dangerous region for diplomats from the United States and other countries as well. Different types of attacks were perpetrated. The 1979 takeover of the US embassy in Tehran, which involved the kidnapping of fifty-five US State Department personnel for 444 days, stands out as a nearly unique violation of diplomatic inviolability openly supported by state authorities.[2] By contrast, most attacks—such as the murder of the US ambassadors to Sudan and Lebanon in 1973 and 1976 respectively—were perpetrated by terrorist groups exploiting the weak law enforcement capabilities of host countries.

The growth of international terrorism can therefore be identified as another key factor underlying the development of diplomatic security policies. Far from being confined to the Middle East, attacks perpetrated by terrorist groups such as Black September and Hezbollah became increasingly transnational in scope. As explained by Ben Zur in this volume, for instance, Israel saw its diplomatic posts being targeted in locations as diverse as Denmark, Thailand, and Argentina. Bombings often replaced armed commandoes as the gravest threat to the safety of diplomatic personnel. The 1983 and 1984 bombings of the US embassy in Beirut, followed by the bombing of the US embassies in Kenya and Tanzania in 1998 and the UK consulate general in Istanbul in 2003, are a case in point. The increasing need to protect diplomatic premises from car bombers, as noted by the chapters of Cullen and Stocking, reshaped the topography and architecture of US embassies worldwide, which frequently relocated to newly built, fortress-like suburban buildings protected by an external wall and a wide safety perimeter.

In the 2000s, the shift toward transformational or expeditionary diplomacy, which entails the deployment of foreign service personnel in fragile environments to conduct state-building tasks and directly engage with host societies,[3] further increased the importance of diplomatic security. By expanding the diplomatic presence in theaters where host state security institutions do not exist or cannot be trusted, this new diplomatic posture enormously magnified security challenges. Moreover, the new role foreseen for foreign service personnel by the expeditionary diplomacy concept required diplomats to frequently travel outside well-protected embassy compounds. These new tasks have increased the need for large escorts composed of military forces or private security contractors.

While explicitly formulated as a concept by the US government after the invasion of Iraq, expeditionary diplomacy and the challenges it entails also concern most of the other cases analyzed in this book. By participating in operation Iraqi Freedom, the UK and Italy also deployed foreign service personnel to Iraq. The UK, Italy, France, and Germany alike joined the ISAF operation in Afghanistan, dispatching a sizeable diplomatic presence to Kabul and their respective provincial reconstruction teams. Turkey's recent emphasis on "humanitarian diplomacy" has exposed Turkish diplomats engaging in development assistance in theaters such as Iraq and Somalia to a variety of threats. China's economic and political activism has translated into new challenges for Chinese diplomats, who are increasingly active in Africa and along the so-called Belt and Road, where they frequently leave embassies to visit Chinese-built infrastructure sites. The Russian military and diplomatic presence in Syria has forced Moscow to face challenges somewhat similar to those experienced by the United States in Iraq by having a fully operational embassy located in the theater of an ongoing conflict. As epitomized by the murder of the Russian ambassador in Turkey in December 2016, Russian foreign policy in Syria has generated grievances that not only jeopardize the safety of Russian diplomats in Damascus, but also translate into an increased risk of attacks in other locations.

Diplomatic Security Policies Compared

The expansion of diplomatic activities worldwide, the growth of international terrorism, and the increasing deployment of foreign service personnel to fragile states has enormously magnified the vulnerability of diplomats personnel to political violence.

The states examined in this book have all developed a large global diplomatic network. While partly differing in their exposure to terrorist threats and in the number of embassies, consulates, and other missions in dangerous areas, each of the countries examined has seen its diplomatic security and posts under increased risk of attack. Consequently, diplomatic security has grown in importance in all the cases examined, eventually absorbing a larger share of the foreign ministries' budgets. As mentioned in the Introduction, the Vienna Convention obliges host countries to ensure the protection of foreign dignitaries. All the states examined in this book, however, have increasingly deemed some host states' protection insufficient and complemented

local police and military forces with their own security personnel. Even China, which has traditionally placed a strong emphasis on non-interference in host states' domestic matters, has started to deploy its own police personnel in order to protect its diplomatic missions. Notwithstanding the above-mentioned trends, the responses of the United States, China, the UK, Germany, France, Italy, Israel, Russia, and Turkey to diplomatic security challenges also differ substantially. Clear differences exist, for instance, in the type of actors that have been tasked with providing diplomatic security.

As the state with the largest diplomatic presence worldwide, the United States has a complex, multilayered diplomatic security workforce involving three different types of actors in the provision of protective tasks. The US State Department is atypical in that it has developed its own, in-house security provider, the Diplomatic Security Service. An important role in protecting US diplomatic premises, personnel, and information, however, has traditionally been performed by the US military through the Marine embassy security guard program. In addition, the dramatic increase in the magnitude of diplomatic security challenges has translated into a growing role for private security contractors. In 2007, private security personnel—deployed in 111 posts worldwide—amounted to roughly 90 percent of the Diplomatic Security Bureau workforce.[4]

The use of private guards is not unique to the US State Department. As states with military police, however, the UK, France, and Italy have resorted to the Royal Military Police, the Gendarmerie, and the Carabinieri, respectively, as their preferred providers of diplomatic security. In countries like the UK, however, military police bodies are too thin to conduct diplomatic security tasks worldwide. Consequently, the deployment of a large number of Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO) officials to dangerous theaters like Iraq and Afghanistan has translated into the widespread use of private security contractors for the protection of diplomatic personnel. In Italy too, PSCs were used in those sporadic instances in which the Carabinieri could not be deployed, such as in Iraq after 2005. While displaying greater hesitation to outsource diplomatic security, France, Germany, and Russia appear to have resorted to local PSCs for the protection of the external perimeter of their embassies. Turkey too has occasionally resorted to PSCs to protect embassies in sensitive locations where its own police forces could not be deployed due to host state restrictions. China and Israel, by contrast, seem to have not yet relied on PSCs as providers of diplomatic security to date. The trend toward

outsourcing is likely to increase in all the countries examined. This may especially be the case for China, which may resort to contractors to bridge the gap between its widening diplomatic presence and the lack of alternative embassy protection forces and institutional mechanisms.

Israel is unique in its reliance on a bureau—the Israeli Security Agency—that is tasked with counterterrorism both domestically and abroad. In Russia too, intelligence services have played a prominent part in ensuring diplomatic protection. It is the Russian armed forces, however, that have played an increasingly crucial role in the provision of security, protecting foreign posts by deploying military border guards and renowned special operation forces such as the spetsnaz.

Table 4 summarizes the complexity and diversity of diplomatic security providers across the countries examined in this volume.

The Drivers of Diplomatic Security Policies

Systemic theories of international relations, and most notably neorealism, posit that states should display a tendency toward emulating practices that have proven successful in confronting a certain threat. Consequently, the security policies of states facing similar challenges should converge in a process of isomorphism.[5] Some isomorphic tendencies can be found in diplomatic security as well. The increasing use of PSCs for diplomatic protection worldwide, for instance, can be explained at least in part as the emulation of US protective measures.[6] Specific aspects of other countries' diplomatic security policies have also been deliberately mimicked. For instance, as explained by Joana, France partly reformed its diplomatic security arrangements based on the UK example by creating a position within the French foreign service bureaucracy akin to that of British FCO security managers. Moreover, crucial diplomatic security decisions are often taken on the basis of shared intelligence, which frequently makes Western countries adopt similar decisions when it comes, for instance, to closing their missions in posts deemed too dangerous.

The wide diversity of policy arrangements devised by the countries examined in this book to protect diplomatic personnel abroad, however, belies the assumption that diplomatic security policies are converging in an isomorphic process. Indeed, the large array of protective arrangements in place—involving actors as diverse as special operation forces, intelligence agencies, military

TABLE 4. Diplomatic security providers worldwide

State	*Providers of diplomatic protection*
US	Diplomatic Security Service
	Marine embassy security guards
	International and local PSCs
China	Police special units
	Local PSCs
UK	Royal Military Police
	International and local PSCs
France	Gendarmerie
	Local PSCs
Germany	Federal Police
	Local PSCs
Russia	Border guards
	Military special operation forces
	Local PSCs
Italy	Carabinieri
	International and local PSCs
Israel	Israeli Security Agency (ISA)
Turkey	Police special units
	Local PSCs

police units, regular police forces, and private security contractors—illustrates the importance of domestic factors in shaping states' security policies. Diplomatic protective arrangements have been informed by historical legacy, national security and diplomatic cultures, and the varying preferences and interests of the different agencies involved in the foreign policy process.

The research we previously conducted on the US and the UK cases shows that organizational cultures and interests play a key role in explaining variations in diplomatic security policies between countries and over time.[7] Various strands of organization theory have noted that government bureaucracies attempt to preserve their autonomy in the conduct of their core missions while seeking to avoid activities seen as peripheral.[8] At the same time, military organizations have frequently been unwilling to perform activities seen as peripheral to their mission or essence. Peripheral tasks are avoided as they

divert resources from an organization's core mission and may decrease the morale of its personnel tasked with conducting activities seen as menial or outside conventional career tracks and therefore detrimental to promotion prospects.[9]

These two tendencies, deeply ingrained in US foreign policy bureaucracies, provide important insights into US diplomatic security postures. After World War II, the Marine Corps accepted performing diplomatic security duties "for reasons of interagency politics and survival," using embassy security duties as a "political expediency" to justify its existence as an independent service.[10] Already by the mid-1950s, however, the Department of State became dissatisfied with the Marine security guard program. The use of uniformed personnel especially created friction between the Marine Corps and the US foreign service, which insisted on the need for guards to have a more low-profile, civilian outlook. By the end of the war in Vietnam, the Marine Corps too, which had now firmly ensured its existence as an autonomous, expeditionary combat force, grew frustrated with the provision of diplomatic protection. As observed by a Marine Corps commander, it was "somewhat unfair to ask that a twenty-year-old veteran of Viet Nam, whose reflexes have been sharpened by combat, to exercise the restraint and cool judgment required on protective security assignments."[11] While the Marine embassy security guard program survived, its size long remained limited and its tasks were largely confined to the protection of sensitive information. Only in the wake of the attack in Benghazi, as explained by Cullen, did the use of Marines as providers of diplomatic security witness a new expansion.

The protection of diplomats in Iraq is another case in point. After the occupation of Iraq, security for US diplomats was initially provided by the Army. Private security contractors, however, soon took the lion's share in performing both static and mobile diplomatic security. The preference for under-command security providers offering foreign service personnel greater mobility and a low-profile protective approach helps explain the DoS's resort to private security contractors in the wake of the Iraq war. When protected by military personnel, State Department officials traveling outside Baghdad's Green Zone had to arrange their movements with a great deal of advance notice, were not able to change schedules and itineraries, and could be denied the possibility to move due the incompatibility between their activities and US military operational needs.[12] Private security contractors, obliged by contractual provisions to abide by their employer's requests, ensured much greater

mobility and flexibility. Furthermore, military protection was seen as incompatible with DoS preferences for low-profile security details. Having security provided by the US Army entailed the presence of personnel in uniform and military vehicles. Contractors, in contrast, could provide protection in mufti and use civilian vehicles.[13] Hence, outsourcing protective tasks to PSCs provided the DoS with a more low-key, under-command source of security. The combat-oriented organizational culture of the US Army—which marginalized protective tasks as peripheral—explains why the DoD welcomed the use of PSCs as an alternative to uniformed personnel in spite of the problematic consequences of DoS contractors' conduct.[14]

In the UK, on the other hand, the FCO found in the Royal Military Police a body capable of providing security consistent with its organizational preferences. As a hybrid force skilled in both combat and law enforcement, the RMP was seen as capable of delivering security in a manner consistent with FCO's preference for a low-profile approach. Unlike the US Army, which considered the provision of diplomatic security tasks an unwelcome deviation from its central mission, the RMP saw close protection as one of its core tasks. As the UK FCO found in the RMP a body that was both willing and capable of providing security consistent with its organizational preferences, it displayed a lower propensity to outsource diplomatic protection.[15]

The empirical chapters in this book shed further light on the role of domestic political constraints and organizational cultures and interests of foreign policy bureaucracies in shaping the preference for PSCs or other diplomatic security providers of other countries as well. As frequently noted by the scholarship on private security, the use of PSCs often allows for circumventing parliamentary constraints over the deployment of military personnel.[16] Sometimes, such constraints restrict the use of military personnel as providers of diplomatic protection. The Italian presence in Iraq after 2005 is a case in point. As observed in Cladi's chapter, the Italian parliament's decision to withdraw all military personnel from Iraq compelled the Foreign Ministry to replace the Carabinieri units previously protecting the Italian Provincial Reconstruction Team with contractors from the British PSC Aegis.[17] The Italian and French foreign ministries alike, however, have shown a tendency to rely on their military police force as the preferred security providers not only based on the conviction that such agencies—which blend military and law enforcement skills—are ideal providers of protection, but also as a way to partly offload part of the costs of diplomatic security onto the defense

and interior ministries, under which budgets these military police forces are funded. In both countries, the need to implement tighter diplomatic protective arrangements has arisen at a time of severe cuts to the foreign ministry budget, and diplomatic security reforms have become tightly intertwined with the polemics surrounding the excessive costs, alleged inefficiencies, and privileges of their foreign service. Consequently, the attempt to tighten security arrangements had to be combined with a streamlining of the costs of their diplomatic presence. The French attempt to fund diplomatic security expenses by selling prestigious but insufficiently secure French Foreign Ministry property abroad is a case in point.

In Russia, the involvement of intelligence services and military Special Operations Forces (SOFs) like the spetsnaz in diplomatic security reflects the well-documented prominence of security institutions within the Russian policy-making process and a tendency toward the militarization of Russian foreign policy that has gained momentum during Vladimir Putin's presidency.[18] In Israel too, the use of the main domestic counterterrorism organization as a provider of diplomatic security and the use of personnel with an SOF background to protect foreign missions illustrates the centrality of counterterrorism in the foreign policy agenda and the prominence of security agencies in the foreign policy apparatus. As shown by the case of Turkey, which has consistently struggled with ensuring the safety of sensitive information and foreign service personnel, cronyism, bureaucratic rivalries, and the politicization of the foreign policy apparatus are a formidable barrier to the development of effective protective arrangements, increasing the risks of espionage and lethal attacks. Chinese diplomatic security polices too appear inadequate to keep pace with Beijing's widening diplomatic presence and foreign policy activism. Existing, ad hoc arrangements, however, reveal the primacy of the Ministry of Public Security to safeguard both diplomats and Chinese citizens and economic interests abroad.

The study of diplomatic security is a key source of insight into countries' national security cultures and the varying roles and prominence of military, intelligence, and law enforcement agencies in foreign-policy making and implementation. Diplomatic protective arrangements, however, are shaped not only by the cultural and normative underpinnings of the main agencies involved in the implementation of security policies, but also by the organizational cultures of foreign ministries and diplomatic services. The concept of diplomatic culture has recently gained increasing attention. As argued by

several scholars, the diplomatic corps has a peculiar organizational culture, displaying unique institutions, norms, role conceptions, and symbols.[19] Such cultural factors play a key role in shaping diplomats' interpretation of their role and day-to-day conduct. Consequently, diplomatic security can be placed at the intersection of national security and diplomatic cultures, both of which have contributed to shaping the ways threats to the safety of diplomats have been addressed. While the diplomatic corps forms a transnational community of practice sharing a number of cultural similarities, the specific culture of each national foreign service is also shaped by domestic norms and rooted in unique historical experiences. Russia and China, for instance, have diplomatic cultures that are at least partly different from those of Western countries, where the practice of diplomacy arguably originated.[20]

As diplomatic cultures vary across countries, generalizing their role in shaping diplomatic protective postures requires a case-by-case analysis. The cases examined in this book, however, suggest that national security cultures and diplomatic cultures are often characterized by friction. The organizational cultures of foreign ministries—grounded on the primacy of the foreign service—help explain the traditional reluctance to allocate resources on a large scale to diplomatic protection and establish security as a specific function within the foreign policy bureaucracy. Security is often seen as a budgetary drain and a hindrance to the engagement with local actors that lies at the heart of the notion of diplomacy. Joana, for instance, notes that French diplomats consider tight security arrangements incompatible with the France's diplomatic style. China's emphasis on non-interference in host countries' sovereignty and local acceptance as a sine qua non for its diplomatic presence in a given country has also acted as a formidable restraint inhibiting the development of more proactive embassy security policies. As further noted in Yuan's chapter, Beijing's insistence on having the design of new embassies reflect Chinese traditions even at the expense of security is another case in point. This friction between security and diplomatic cultures endures even in countries with a long tradition of protecting diplomats abroad. Stocking's personal experience as a US regional security officer, described in Chapter Ten, also illustrates the uneasy relationship between the organizational culture of the Foreign Service and the implementation of effective protective arrangements.

Hence, the empirical analysis provided in this book offers an important source of insights into the political and bureaucratic determinants of states' security policies, helping unravel the complex interplay of perceived levels of

external threat, national security and diplomatic cultures, domestic political constraints, and the preferences, interests, and relative power of the different agencies involved in the foreign policy process. Future research can expand the body of empirical evidence provided in this book and further unravel its theoretical implications in order to advance the study of the domestic determinants of states' security and foreign policies.

Diplomatic Security as Risk Management

Domestic factors not only shape countries' diplomatic security postures, but also inform their varying propensity to accept risks to the safety of their foreign missions. Since threats can never be completely eliminated but only reduced, diplomatic security policies worldwide are increasingly conceptualized as a form of risk management. In the United States, this approach has been outlined in policy documents and explicitly guides the reasoning of the DS. The other countries examined, by contrast, do not have explicit risk-management guidelines, but all employ some risk-management-based reasoning and best practices in a more informal and piecemeal fashion.

As stressed by security studies scholars, the application of risk-management methodology to political risks is problematic.[21] According to proponents of the risk-management approach, risks can be measured in an objective fashion by combining their gravity and their probability. Both factors, however, are hard to pin down and operationalized into quantitative indicators when assessing threats to diplomatic premises and personnel. The probability of attacks against certain countries' diplomats in a given country depends on the grievances created by their foreign policies, the effectiveness of host countries' security sector, the buildings chosen as diplomats' offices and residences, whether diplomats travel outside safe embassy compounds, and the training and number of guards dispatched as providers of static and personal protection. Pinning down each of them objectively is a dauntingly complex task.

Moreover, the gravity of risks to diplomats also is to some extent open to debate and hard to measure objectively. Although no country would consider the life of highly trained civil servants like diplomats expendable, sending states may still differ in their propensity to accept risks to the safety of their foreign service personnel in order to maintain a diplomatic presence in a given area. In certain circumstances, states might even accept casualties

among diplomatic personnel as an inevitable externality in the pursuit of their national interests.

While more systematic studies are warranted, the evidence presented in this book suggests that the key factor shaping the propensity to accept risks to foreign service personnel is the perceived importance of keeping a diplomatic presence in a certain country. Even middle powers with a diplomatic history marked by nearly no casualties or attacks can accept high levels of risk in order to maintain a presence in a country seen as central to their national interest. The case of Italy, which remained the only Western country with a diplomatic presence in Libya after the murder of Christopher Stevens, is a case in point. Due to the proximity of Libya to the Italian coast, the ongoing migration crisis, and the magnitude of Italian economic activities in the area, the importance of Tripoli to the Italian national interest is hardly disputable. In many other cases, however, the need for a diplomatic presence in a dangerous environment is likely to remain open to question. As noted by Stocking in this book, the presence of Stevens in Benghazi was justified as "critical" to the national interest, but no explanation of why this was the case was given.

As the propensity to accept risks varies significantly across countries and over time depending on the importance attached to keeping a physical presence in a given country, making generalizations regarding diplomatic risk aversion is difficult. Broadly speaking, however, the countries examined in this book have shown a remarkable propensity to accept severe risks in order to maintain diplomatic ties with a large number of host countries. This is epitomized by the fact that nearly all the countries in this collection have consistently maintained a diplomatic presence in states suffering from pervasive political violence and withdrew their personnel due to security concerns only in exceptional circumstances. In all the cases examined, the closing of a diplomatic mission due to the deteriorating security situation tends to be seen as an extreme, temporary measure, which often requires approval at the highest political level.

Arguing that diplomacy in a traditional sense has partly lost its importance owing to the increasing importance of information and communications technology has now become commonplace. The widespread reluctance to close diplomatic posts in dangerous locations outlined in this book, however, vindicates the enduring relevance of traditional, face-to-face diplomatic relations, illustrating the persisting belief in the importance of maintaining a physical diplomatic presence in host states regardless of the risks this entails.

Diplomatic Security and Terrorism Studies

Besides revealing the influence of organizational interests and culture in shaping security policies, diplomatic security is also relevant for the study of terrorism. Specifically, a systematic examination of the attacks perpetrated against diplomatic missions can shed new light on the tactics of different terrorist groups, their rationale, and their evolution over time.

Attacking diplomatic missions in third countries that lack effective law enforcement is a tempting opportunity for transnational terrorist groups, which may find in diplomatic posts abroad targets that are both insufficiently protected and highly valuable due to their visibility and symbolic significance. Still, not all terrorist groups have targeted diplomatic missions. As mentioned earlier, the first systematic threats against foreign service personnel abroad came from Marxists guerrillas in South America during the 1960s and 1970s. Such organizations did not directly attack diplomatic personnel to retaliate against sending countries, but primarily resorted to kidnapping as an instrumental funding strategy.[22] Strengthened host countries protection and the unwillingness to pay ransom thus caused a decline of diplomatic kidnapping as a way to fund insurgencies. Leftist terrorist organizations worldwide, however, have generally refrained from attacking diplomatic posts and personnel. Although notable exceptions such as the Red Army Faction attack against the embassy of West Germany in Sweden in 1975 and the murder of the military attaché to the British embassy in Athens in 2000 can be found, attacks against diplomats are rare in the panoply of robberies, kidnappings, and targeted killings perpetrated by leftist terrorist groups.[23]

Terrorist organizations motivated by ethnonationalist grievances, by contrast, have attacked diplomatic personnel and premises more frequently. For instance, right-wing terrorist groups attacked foreign embassies in both France and Israel in response to the disengagement from Algeria and occupied territories. Most notably, Palestinian organizations such as Black September and the Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), and the Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia (ASALA), perpetrated several attacks against Israeli and Turkish diplomatic premises in third countries. By the beginning of the 1980s, however, both Palestinian and Armenian organizations decided to give up attacks against diplomatic personnel. The blatant violation of diplomatic inviolability that these attacks entailed was ultimately seen as detrimental to the effort of building international support for such groups' cause, and therefore discarded as counterproductive. Hezbollah,

possibly with Iranian support, continued to target Israeli diplomatic premises abroad after the Cold War, as epitomized by the bombing of the embassy in Buenos Aires in 1992. Eventually, however, Hezbollah too gave up the bombing of diplomatic missions as a political strategy.

Over the last thirty years, deadly attacks against diplomatic facilities have been primarily conducted by pariah religious extremist groups such as al-Qaeda, usually considered the epitome of "new terrorism." According to the new terrorism thesis, these groups do not have grievances that can actually be met, but only aspire to inflict as much violence as possible in the pursuit of millenarian, utopian religious goals. While "old" terrorist groups resort to violence as a means to an end, new terrorist organization purportedly pursue violence as an end in itself. As a result, the violence they pursue is indiscriminate and indifferent to the identity of the victim.[24] However, the very fact that such groups have consistently targeted diplomatic premises, often much better protected than most other civilian objectives in a given host country, calls into question the argument that their actions fall under the rubric of apolitical, indiscriminate violence. Indeed, the effort to attack the envoys of given countries vindicates the political nature of "new" terrorist organizations, which have deliberately targeted political symbols of their grievances such as embassies as part of their strategy.[25]

Diplomatic Security and the International System: Inviolability as a Weakening International Norm?

Diplomatic protective policies warrant investigation not merely because they illuminate the factors underlying the making of states' security policies, their evolution over time, and their variations across countries. Nor is the study of diplomatic protection valuable solely as a way to understand terrorist organizations' strategies and motives. The increasing prominence of diplomatic security also warrants attention as a source of insight into the architecture of the international system and the evolution of the key norms and institutions that underlie interstate relations. Diplomatic inviolability can be identified as one of those norms.

In the wake of the murder of Ambassador Stevens in 2012, states and media worldwide expressed solidarity with the United States, and the assault against the US mission in Benghazi was unanimously condemned as an aberration. The takeover of the US embassy in Tehran in 1979, which met unanimous

vocal condemnation from communist, Western, and non-aligned countries alike, turning Ayatollah Khomeini's Iran into a pariah state, is another case in point. Such widespread stigma epitomizes the centrality of diplomatic inviolability as a long-standing tenet in the history of international relations. Traditionally regarded as an undisputed principle of customary international law, the inviolability of diplomatic personnel was codified by the 1961 Vienna Convention. As argued by the International Court of Justice in the wake of the Iran hostage crisis, "there is no more fundamental prerequisite for the conduct of relations between States than the inviolability of diplomatic envoys."[26]

After the constructivist turn, international relations theory has dedicated considerable attention to international norms as a key heuristic device to understand the behavior of states, private organizations, and individuals alike. A norm is usually defined as a "standard of appropriate behavior for actors with a given identity."[27] As norms establish certain behavioral standards, commanding adherence by shaping conceptions of what is considered as appropriate, the key quality that sets them apart from other kind of rules is their oughtness, or normativity. As norm breaking is considered "abnormal" behavior that generates disapproval or stigma, international norms have a "compliance pull."[28] The literature has singled out a number of norms that have significantly informed states' behavior. Security scholars, for instance, have posited the existence of norms against the use of nuclear and chemical weapons, land mines, and mercenaries.[29]

The principle of diplomatic inviolability clearly displays all the distinctive features of international norms. Indeed, even a quick review of diplomatic history reveals that inviolability has been held as a cornerstone of diplomatic practice, sanctioned, as stressed by Grotius, "by every clause and precept of human and revealed law."[30] Since antiquity, the violation of diplomatic inviolability has been regarded as a sacrilege and has sparked widespread outrage. Hence, diplomatic inviolability embodies a distinct compliance pull. Its historical record of compliance is also remarkable. Although breaches of diplomatic inviolability took place, they were sporadic and always considered abnormal. Even at the height of revolutions and fierce interstate military confrontations such as World Wars I and II, diplomatic agents very rarely saw their physical integrity threatened, although they were sometimes subjected to surveillance and limited in their freedom of movement.[31] When two revolutionaries killed the German ambassador to Soviet Russia, Lenin himself went to the German embassy to offer his apologies.[32]

The eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries saw the codification of diplomatic practices and their adoption worldwide.[33] Inasmuch as the exchanging of ambassadors came to be understood as a litmus test of sovereignty, states wishing to participate in the international system developed a diplomatic corps and adopted European principles of diplomacy based on a process of isomorphism.[34] Guaranteeing the safety of other countries' envoys, seen as "the most fundamental of international laws,"[35] was a crucial precondition for states worldwide to seek and preserve their acceptance by the international society of states.[36]

Over the last few decades, however, diplomatic inviolability has been increasingly violated. The increasing need for diplomatic security arrangements may serve as an indicator of the deterioration of the inviolability norm. Occasional violations of a norm, however, do not necessarily entail its disappearance. On the contrary, the stigma surrounding violations may even strengthen certain norms, persuading international actors that not complying with them is an unacceptable form of behavior.[37] Violent non-state actors' socialization into the diplomatic inviolability norm, epitomized by many terrorist organizations' decision to refrain from attacking diplomatic premises, is a case in point.

Assessing the Effectiveness of Diplomatic Security Policies

As the scholarship on counterterrorism has shown, assessing the effectiveness of policies primarily aimed at preventing large, idiosyncratic, and relatively rare events like terrorist attacks is a complex task. Diplomatic security policies are no exception. Moreover, devising effective protective arrangements does not merely consist in arranging policies that shield diplomats from harm. Truly successful diplomatic security has to be both effective and unobtrusive, ensuring protection without hindering diplomats' ability to conduct their activities and tarnishing the image of the sending state. As pointed by several chapters in this collection, this may ultimately be impossible. While enabling the conduct of diplomacy in dangerous environments, certain security arrangements may inevitably obstruct diplomatic activities, affecting both the ability of foreign service personnel to reach out to local societies and locals' perceptions of the diplomatic mission and its sending state. Consequently, there is an inverse correlation between effective diplomatic security

and effective diplomacy: measures that can successfully protect diplomats from attack are also likely to encroach upon their ability to conduct their work, inevitably disrupting the very activities they should enable.

For instance, closing a mission is arguably the most effective security measure available. Needless to say, however, such a measure would obviously entail a loss of influence, depriving a country of the ability to conduct face-to-face dealings with host governments and societies. Moreover, closing a diplomatic post is not just a security measure, but a political statement that may compromise the ties between the sending and the host state. Host countries may see the closing of a mission as an implicit way of labeling them as a failing state, or simply as evidence that their country is not important enough to justify maintaining a diplomatic presence.

At the opposite extreme, lax or nonexistent security arrangements would arguably permit diplomats to conduct their spectrum of activities in full independence, allowing for maintaining missions in city-center buildings and letting diplomats freely engage with local governments and civil society. Lenient security measures may not only maximize diplomats' freedom to maneuver, but also please host countries by conveying an impression of trust in their government institutions and security forces. Such a choice, however, may obviously impose additional risks on the personnel working for the mission.

Keeping a diplomatic presence under tighter security arrangements lies somewhere in the middle. These protective arrangements allow for striking a balance between the political imperative of maintaining a diplomatic presence in a country deemed important to the national interest and the security imperative of ensuring the safety of diplomatic personnel. Such policies too, however, may inevitably affect the conduct of diplomatic activities in several ways.

To begin with, diplomatic security requires funding. As epitomized by the US DS budgets, protective arrangements have absorbed an increasingly large amount of foreign ministries' budgets, which have already faced severe cuts in several countries. Hence, protective arrangements divert funds from activities that may better serve the purpose of fostering relationships with third countries, ranging from public diplomacy events to the funding of development projects.

Moreover, diplomatic security encroaches on the ability of diplomats to move about and freely meet local actors. In the United States the need to ensure the physical security requirements of the 1997 Secure Embassy

Construction and Counterterrorism Act (SECCA) has translated into the relocation of embassies from prestigious venues in city centers to new, fortress-like suburban buildings. This decision, as noted by Stocking, was key to deterring terrorist attacks. Moving embassies to suburban locations, however, may also marginalize diplomats, secluding them from the economic and political sinews of the host countries. Moreover, embassies surrounded by large walls, fences, and empty spaces may not simply be criticized for their architectonical merits (or lack thereof).[38] Retreating to fortress-like buildings conveys an unintended message to local societies, suggesting that a country's diplomatic presence is unpopular and in need of being forcibly imposed on the host country. Diplomatic studies have attached increasing importance to public diplomacy.[39] As the effort to influence local public opinion has been identified as an important component of diplomats' presence in third countries, the impact of retreating into fortress embassies cannot be underestimated.

Likewise, mobile security arrangements often have to be planned days or weeks in advance, limiting diplomats' freedom of movement. Armed escorts not only hinder diplomats' freedom of movement, but are often only reluctantly accepted by host countries. The presence of armed foreign personnel often requires the drafting of ad hoc agreements and may be resented by local authorities as an encroachment upon their sovereignty. These hurdles may sometimes prevent or delay the timely arrival of diplomatic security providers from the sending state. The Russian ambassador to Turkey, for instance, had no Russian guard protecting him when he was murdered because no agreement with Turkey on the deployment of Russian spetsnaz could be secured in time.

The fact that the presence of foreign military or police personnel is often resented or simply not allowed by host countries is one of the reasons several countries have increasingly turned to private security contractors. This preference for low-key providers of security, as explained earlier in this Conclusion, was one of the reasons underlying the United States' increasing use of private security contractors as providers of diplomatic protection. As explained by the Assistant Secretary of State for Diplomatic Security Richard Griffin before Congress, US diplomatic security policies in Iraq and Afghanistan alike were based on an attempt to "make our protective details, our presence, as low-profile . . . as possible."[40] While informed by a need for low-key, civilian-like security providers that would better integrate into the local environment, the large, insufficiently regulated use of PSCs may have actually achieved a

somewhat opposite outcome. The widespread use of PSCs like Blackwater was key to ensuring effective protection of US diplomats in dangerous environments, but the frequent abuse in the use of force by US contractors in Iraq ultimately hindered the very diplomatic activities it was supposed to enable, souring the relationship between US authorities and the local society. The large use of Afghan contractors to protect the US embassy in Kabul also proved problematic, and became a bone of contention between US and local authorities.[41]

As illustrated by the examples above, there is a trade-off between effective diplomatic security and the effective conduct of diplomacy. Designing diplomatic security policies requires taking this trade-off into account, reducing risks to manageable levels without straightjacketing diplomats or tarnishing the image of the sending countries before local societies. While silver bullets are nowhere to be found, some policy recommendations on how to improve existing diplomatic security arrangements can nevertheless be formulated. Most notably, greater cooperation across sending states is vital to the security of diplomatic personnel. Uncoordinated national diplomatic security policies are likely to translate into threat displacement, prompting terrorist organizations seeking to attack foreign powers to reorient their attention to less protected targets. Consequently, there is a risk that the unilateral adoption of certain protective policies by a given sending country will inadvertently result in growing risks to other diplomatic missions.

In order to avoid this risk, dialogue and collaboration across all the sending states operating in a particular host country are required. To be sure, cooperation between states like the United States, China, and Russia is often hindered by mutual distrust and competition. As these countries have a record of encroaching upon each other's diplomatic cables, collaboration on information security issues remains unlikely in the near future. Cooperating on other diplomatic security matters of mutual interest such as the physical protection of diplomatic missions, however, is much more feasible. Such cooperation could effectively start at the local level. Regular meetings between the ambassadors or security officers of the main sending states to discuss the security situation in a given country and the protective measures enacted by each mission would facilitate the sharing of intelligence and allow for more effective synergy with local authorities and security forces, thereby increasing the safety of the diplomatic corps as a whole.

A Final Word: Diplomatic Security and the Institution of Diplomacy

By consuming a larger share of foreign ministries' budget, isolating missions, and straightjacketing diplomats, tightening diplomatic security arrangements may affect more than just the effectiveness of diplomatic conduct. The greater need for securing diplomats also informs and reshapes the institution of diplomacy and the role it plays in interstate relations.

As argued by Eroukhmanoff in this book, tight security arrangements militarizing the diplomatic presence abroad may call into question the nature of diplomacy as an alternative to coercion, ultimately increasing the likelihood that foreign service personnel will become a target of hostile action. Scholars such as Sharp, Neumann, and Der Derian have already noted that the concept of diplomacy is inextricably linked with the notion of "separatedness," "exclusivity," or even "estrangement."[42] As envoys of a foreign government, diplomats serve the purpose of bridging the gap between political communities. At the same time, however, diplomats are separated from the local society of the country they are sent to, and even exempted from local jurisdiction due to their unique legal status. Tight security arrangements inevitably make the separatedness of diplomats from local societies not merely symbolic and legal, but also physical.

According to Neumann, diplomacy as an everyday activity is "sited" in that it consistently takes place in specific venues where diplomats' routinized, quotidian work takes place. Far from being neutral or dictated by logistical convenience, the choice of certain venues as sites for diplomatic daily routines and encounters with local dignitaries reflects specific national diplomatic styles and negotiating strategies.[43] US diplomacy, for instance, features a preference for low-profile interactions and informal venues like sports events. China, by contrast, tends to rely on more official settings, and sometimes resorts to traditional practices such as fengshui to arrange the timing and venue of diplomatic encounters.[44] Security concerns inevitably affect the sites of diplomacy by, for instance, leading embassies to relocate to fortified suburban locations or prompting diplomats to remain secluded in protected compounds instead of meeting their local counterparts in public venues.

This may not only have an impact on the effectiveness of diplomatic action. The increasing embeddedness of security practices into diplomatic routines may also affect diplomats' own self-perceptions. Although many diplomats have accepted the need for tighter protection, growing security concerns

have nonetheless reshaped the organizational culture and role conceptions of foreign service personnel, affecting personnel recruitment, retention, and professional satisfaction. Assessing the role played by security in reshaping the institution and daily practices of diplomacy requires additional research drawing on international relations theory, sociology, anthropology, and social psychology alike.

The inquiry we have had the privilege to edit is by no means the final say on the study of diplomatic security. By providing the first comparative examination of diplomatic security policies worldwide, this book intends merely to spark a broader theoretical and policy discussion, engaging academics and practitioners in the examination of an understudied subject with important implications for diplomacy and security alike.

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